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by

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**Material Help, Moral Concerns.
The Chilean Ecclesiastical Hierarchy and the Social Question
1891-1931**

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**Material Help, Moral Concerns.
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1891-1931**

by

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Dissertation

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Dedication

For my mom

For all those who every day bravely fight for being respected

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Material Help, Moral Concerns.
The Chilean Ecclesiastical Hierarchy and the Social Question
1891-1931

Karin Andrea Sanchez Manriquez, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2016

Supervisor: Virginia Garrard-Burnett

This dissertation examines the Chilean Catholic Church's response to the social problems of the working class, phenomenon called "Social Question," between 1891 and 1931. In these forty years, the Chilean Catholic Church acted under the guidelines of the first main Vatican document that focused exclusively on social issues: the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, issued in 1891. The Catholic social ideas present in sermons, pastoral letters, lectures, speeches, and articles produced by some of the leading priests of the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy shows this influence, but also they show that the Chilean Catholic Church experienced its own secularization process. The main argument of this dissertation is that the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy made a religious reading of modernity in order to maintain a hierarchical and paternalistic social organization. The Church adopted a discourse within the new modern context, playing modern rules by taking some concepts of modernity but making their own reading. Thus, they accepted some principles of modernity only when were within a Christian context, like "Christian Democracy," for example. On that account, my project demonstrates how the way the Chilean Catholic Church faced modernity was more complex than the simple dichotomy between progressivism and traditionalism. Several factors explained this: the rigid

doctrine from the Vatican; the particular circumstances of Chilean society and differences within the provinces; and the perpetuation through time of a certain way of social organization determined mostly by Catholicism four centuries before. My work engages with religious and cultural studies by contributing to a better understanding of the path followed by Catholicism in the public space in Western countries in the last two centuries, following the repercussions of Enlightenment. This dissertation also seeks to contribute to historiography about the Catholic Church in Chile by bringing in a refreshing interpretation of Catholic social thought. Overall, this dissertation illuminates the process by which Chilean Catholicism faced modernity and shows the complexity of the experience of industrialization and secularization within the Chilean society in a crucial period of its modernization process as significant social and economic changes made possible the beginning in Chile of definitive modernity.

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Introduction

The spirit of the current century, which has declared war against the interests of God, could not respect the Church, the great Fatherland of God's children. Its ship has always navigated by a sea of tears; but it seems to be today more than ever overwhelmed by tribulation.¹

As Rodolfo Vergara Antúnez declared in his sermon at the first mass of the recently ordained Froilán Triday in 1882, the Chilean Catholic Church was at war with modern times. Its fight was against the Chilean state, which had started a secularization and laicization process by the middle of the century.² Laicization was a common process in Western countries;³ in the case of Chile, it resulted in the separation between Church and State in 1925. Additionally, secularization affected how part of the Chilean population (mostly working class men) experienced religion as it had less presence on the public space.

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, a new factor made the situation even more complex: this was something that came to be known as the "Social Question." Chilean historiography agreed on the definition of it given by James Morris in the 1960s:

All the social, labor, and ideological consequences of emerging industrialization and urbanization: a new labor force dependent upon the wage system; the appearance of worker housing, health, and sanitation problems of growing acuteness; the formation of organizations to defend the interest of the new "working class;" strikes and street demonstrations; perhaps armed clashes

¹ *El Sacerdote Salvador. Sermón predicado en la Iglesia parroquial de Santa Ana por el presbítero D. Rodolfo Vergara Antúnez con motivo de la primera misa del presbítero don Froilán Triday, celebrada el 1 de enero de 1882* (Santiago: Imprenta de "El Correo" de Ramón Varela, 1883), 12.

² Ana María Stiven (ed.), *La religión en la esfera pública chilena. ¿laicidad o secularización?* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2014).

³ Secularization's consequences for the Catholic Church included the loss of properties; the expulsion of religious orders in some countries; and the loss of the Catholic prominence in education in favor of the state. Juan María Laboa, "León XIII y la vida política europea," *Anuario de la Historia de la Iglesia* 12 (2003): 43-44.

between workers and police or the military; and some popularity of radical ideas and radical leadership among the workers.⁴

As an institution that maintained the principle to love one's neighbor, the Catholic Church was in need of giving an answer to the claims of the working class that was experiencing a continuous degradation of their living and working conditions as industrialization extended through the main Chilean cities. Wages were far from enough for providing food at home. The working day was sometimes more than twelve hours, and there was not a Sunday rest (and, of course, no vacations). Insurance was completely non-existence. The presence of the State in providing aid to the working poor was far from enough. For political parties, moreover, the living and working conditions of the poor was not a main issue. The elite's concern was that the impoverishment of the working class could make possible the rise of socialist groups which could threat the social order as the Chilean elite knew it: a hierarchical and paternalistic organization of the social classes since colonial times.⁵

How did the Chilean Church react to these new problems? Did the Church modify some of its social ideas? How did Church incorporated modernity to its thought? My dissertation focuses on the responses of the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy to these social and political changes -phenomenon known as the Social Question- caused by both industrialization and secularization between 1891 and 1931. In these forty years, the Chilean Catholic Church acted under the guidelines of the first main Vatican document that focused exclusively on social issues: the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. The revision of the Catholic social ideas present in sermons, pastoral letters, lectures, speeches, and articles written by some of the leading priests of the ecclesiastical hierarchy shows this

⁴ James O. Morris, *Elites, Intellectuals, and Consensus. A Study of the Social Question and the Industrial Relations System in Chile* (Ithaca: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1966), 78.

⁵ Romero, Luis Alberto. *¿Qué hacer con los pobres? Élite y Sectores Populares en Santiago de Chile, 1840-1895* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1997), 152.

influence, but also they show that the Chilean Catholic Church experienced its own secularization process.

The main argument of this dissertation is that the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy made a religious reading of modernity in order to maintain a hierarchical and paternalistic social organization. Thus, they accepted some principles of modernity only when were within a Christian context, like “Christian Democracy,” for example. The Church adopted a discourse within the new modern context, playing modern rules by taking some concepts of modernity but making their own reading. On that account, my project demonstrates how the way the Chilean Catholic Church faced modernity was more complex than the simple dichotomy between progressivism and traditionalism.

It is the content of this dissertation, then, that the Social Question and secularization were not separate things in the view of the Church. Rather, the Social Question and secularization had a twofold relationship. First, both issues grew out of modernity, and as such, both were central problems to the priests. Second, the Church defined the Social Question primarily as a religious problem, which happened to develop in an economic context. Therefore, as employers did not fulfill their Christian duties towards their workers, the resulting suffering of the latter could lead to a decrease of Catholicism within the working class thanks to the influence of socialism. As the official journal of the Chilean Catholic Church, *La Revista Católica*, warned: “We are feeling an extensive plan to make people lose their faith and stir in them the hatred against the rich and our holy religion.”⁶

As this dissertation concerns on the way the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy spoke to the public opinion, it is not a study of the backstage’s Church. This means that there are no personal letters here sent between priests or confidential Vatican reports. It

⁶ “Federación de Obras Católicas,” *LRC*, January 1, 1909, vol.17, 829.

was what the Church said to the public. I do not want to show what “secretly” the priests thought in their letters or private meetings. I just want to show what they were showing to society but what scholars seemed not to have considered so far for being, apparently, obvious. Under these terms, it is a study of representation. It is a cultural history, because what I look for is to identify the Church’s ideas regarding social organization, and particularly how they defined “the poor.”⁷ In sum, I will show how Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy reacted to one of the most prominent consequence of modernity: the Social Question.

My work, then, seeks to contribute to historiography about the Catholic Church in Chile by bringing in a refreshing interpretation of Catholic social thought. This project is the first comprehensive examination of the thought of the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy. Accordingly, my research will also cover aspects of the Chilean past that previous historiography has not examined. In particular, what is lacking in the historiography is a study of Catholic social thought that is separate from analysis of the social work done by both laymen and clergy. Works about Social Catholicism published so far (mostly in the 1980s) include reflections on how Catholicism faced secularization in its relation to the State, not to the whole society; and what their responses to the new modern world were in practical terms. These studies also explore the huge work of the laity on the Social Question. But none of these works have explored the ideas and worldview that supported the actions of the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁸

⁷ Luis Alberto Romero, “Los sectores populares urbanos como sujetos históricos,” *Última Década* 7 (1997): 16.

⁸ María Antonieta Huerta, *Catolicismo Social en Chile: pensamiento y praxis de los movimientos apostólicos* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Paulinas, 1991; Fernando Aliaga Rojas, *Itinerario histórico. De los Círculos de Estudio a las Comunidades Juveniles de Base* (Santiago: Equipo de Servicio de la Juventud, Talleres Gráficos “Corporación,” 1977);

Two works recently published are the exception to this. Patricio Valdivieso published his doctoral dissertation with the title *Dignidad Humana y Justicia, La Historia de Chile, La Política Social y el Cristianismo, 1880-1920*, in 2006.⁹ Although developed in a very scientific style and with also a challenging writing style, it is an excellent investigation about the influences of European Social Catholicism in Chile. Valdivieso studies the readings of Catholics on Social Catholicism and their travels to Europe that explain this influence. He also aims to explore how these ideas contributed to a formation of social policies in Chile. However, he lacks an analysis of the Catholic thought regarding the concept of society that the Catholic Church held and how this traditional thought “talked” to a modern society. The other work is the book *Catolicismo Social Chileno. Desarrollo, Crisis y Actualidad*, published by the Centro Teológico Manuel Larraín in 2009.¹⁰ Although this center has a clear Catholic perspective, it aims to “collaborate with the Catholic Church in the perceptiveness of the sign of the times and, in this way, to establish a dialogue between faith and culture.”¹¹ The book represents a fresh interpretation in the Chilean historiography since through articles written by theologians and historians, it focuses in the relationship between religion and modernity.

The marked political stance of other works, either right or left in political terms, does not allow them to make a nuanced assessment of the past. Some scholars emphasize that the first preoccupation of the Church was for the spiritual wellbeing of the working class and not for their material conditions. Sofia Correa states that “The Catholic Church and conservative groups attributed the origin (of the Social Question) to the alleged loss of morality in the lower class, which was the consequence... of the spread of secular

⁹ Patricio Valdivieso, *Dignidad Humana y Justicia: la historia de Chile, la política social y el cristianismo 1880-1920* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2006).

¹⁰ Fernando Berríos, Jorge Costadoat and Diego García, eds., *Catolicismo Social Chileno. Desarrollo, Crisis y Actualidad* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2009).

¹¹ <http://www.uc.cl/facteo/centromanuellarraín/> (Accessed on October 15, 2010)

ideologies, opposed to Christianity, and tributaries of European socialism and anarchism.”¹² The solution, Correa continues, was only charity. Gabriel Salazar, one of the most leftist Chilean historians, argues that *Rerum Novarum* created a dilemma for the Chilean Catholic Church because Catholic social teaching forced the Church “to go against itself, to reverse its commitment to help the elite, and to help effectively and politically to those who, until then, it had only seen like ‘solemn poor’ (widows, disabled, orphans, homeless) who asked for charity and alms.”¹³ He highlights how the Catholic Church faced the political dilemma of helping the lower classes, and the need for a “real social policy” in place of “continuing with charity.”¹⁴ He concludes that “Clearly, the Chilean Catholic Church in the early twentieth century, avoided -regarding the Social-Question- the edicts of the Pope, in order to remain loyal, as before, to their class and their practices of mere charity.”¹⁵

New historiographical interpretations have identified Social Catholicism as part of the process of secularization, although it could be seen a response to it. Sol Serrano, continuing with her argument about the emergence of Social Catholicism not because of Social Question, affirms that “it was part of the realignment of Catholicism in the construction of the liberal national state and was also a response to Socialism.”¹⁶ This change is clear also in the transition from charity to justice, “from the paternalistic

¹² Consuelo Figueroa, Claudio Rolle, Manuel Vicuña, and Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, *Historia Del Siglo XX Chileno: Balance Paradojal* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2001), 56.

¹³ Gabriel Salazar and Julio Pinto, *Historia contemporánea de Chile IV. Hombres y femineidad* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1999), 74.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 75-76.

¹⁶ Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República? Política y secularización en Chile: (1845-1885)* (Santiago, Chile: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008), 343-344. From a theological approach, Berríos asserts that Social Catholicism is not only “a bet by direct action of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but also a bet by the intervention of the laical action in society.” In the case of the *Rerum Novarum*, Berríos argues, it was clear since the analysis of the work is now not only since a “spiritual-individual approach but also, from a ‘politic’ and social approach.” Berríos, “El catolicismo social; inculturación del Evangelio en Chile,” in Berríos, Costadoat and García, *Catolicismo Social Chileno*, 50 and 53.

beneficence to the acknowledgement of workers' right."¹⁷ Then, Social Catholicism, then, became a "Catholic appropriation of a modern and secular cultural concept in order to express a traditional content in a radical new way,"¹⁸ as Fernando Berríos has pointed out. He also argues that this change in the Catholic Church implied the reconciliation of the faith, a "pre-modern Catholic mentality," with a more plural and autonomous society.¹⁹ "The Catholic Church tried," Berríos continues, "to introduce itself to the modern society as a model of a true co-existence based on the value of the vertical authority, and the tradition and order that the Catholic Church represented."²⁰ In this way, Berríos states, we can understand the "double interest" of the Catholic Church about the Social Question: a sheer charitable inspiration to the ones suffering, and a very strong concern about the spreading of socialist ideas within the working class.²¹

Another contribution of my dissertation is that it sheds light on the language the Chilean Catholic Church has used to respond to social changes through history. The new political scenario in Chile after modernity affected religion since the Catholic Church had to share its charitable activities with the new state institutions focused on social issues. Therefore, one of the questions of my work has to do with how the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy utilized language to define its own worldview within this modern context. In the texts I study, priests defined the world as a violent environment because of secularization and industrialization, which affected the poor, but that also could test the very existence of Christianity. Understanding the language with which the Chilean Catholic Church made claims about concepts like charity, justice, democracy, and

¹⁷ Berríos, "El Catolicismo social," 107. For Romero, this change represents a more social approach of the charitable and moralizing previous attitude of the elite. Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres?*, 179.

¹⁸ Berríos, "El Catolicismo social," 107.

¹⁹ Ibid., 102.

²⁰ Ibid., 103.

²¹ Ibid.

equality, is essential to the emergence and evolution in Chile of the activities that both laymen and clergy performed in order to remedy the suffering of the poor due to the Social Question.²²

My work engages with religious studies by contributing to a better understanding of the path followed by Catholicism in the public space in Western countries in the last two centuries, following the repercussions of Enlightenment. The analysis of the texts written by the Chilean priests will show how the Catholic Church faced modernity by fighting against secularization and laicization. My work will clarify the real significance for religion of secularization within the Chilean State and society in a decisive period of modernity. Secularization was not a clear defeat of religion. The Catholic Church was defeated as an institution, but not as faith. The beliefs of people changed, it is true, but not to the level of incredulity. The public – mostly workers- attending conferences of the priests I study or the readers of the newspapers in which they wrote, demonstrate this. In other words, secularization was not the decline of religion but its re-positioning within society.

This re-position is reflected in the thought of the priests I study. At this time, new concepts emerged and others transformed within the Catholic corpus of ideas in order to respond to modernity. Such is the case, for example, of the concepts of *charity* and *justice*. The Catholic Church always emphasized the importance of charity in order to improve the condition of the poor, as this virtue, according to Catholic theology, comes from love. But by the beginning of the twentieth century, justice, a virtue that comes from law, rose with Catholic thought when talking about social issues. Although without replacing charity, justice focused on resolving workers' problems in this life and not on

²² Berrios, "El Catolicismo social," 101.

recompensing suffering after death. In the views of the priests, this is an advantage over the socialist discourse that only focused on justice but not on charity.

My project also engages with cultural studies that look at the transition to political modernity in Western countries that have dealt with changes regarding social organization. The time span between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries is central in the modernization process of Chile because significant social and economic changes made possible the beginning in Chile of definitive modernity. In fact, one of the most important results of modernization was the gradual incorporation of the working and middle classes into public opinion and political activity as the new century developed. This had political and social consequences as well. Political parties from middle and working classes emerged; and the Chilean State started institutional and legal reforms that resulted, by the end of the 1920's, with the first steps of a welfare state.

My work will, then, analyze the role of the Chilean Catholic Church within the process of how working and middle classes negotiated with the political elite in order to be incorporated into the nation as active political and social actors, and therefore, modify the hierarchical organization of society. In the period I study, when talking about equality -for example- priests did not mean it in social or legal terms, particularly regarding women, illegitimate children and poor in general, i.e., subaltern groups. Instead, their concern was about regulation of the labor system in order to guarantee a minimum standard of working and living conditions for the working class, not its upward mobility. The same approach was taken toward democracy, which was accepted by the priests like a political system but only when it was Christian; otherwise, it was equivalent to socialism. Finally, priests also suggested that the State had to take some measures in

favor of the working class but only when the rights of workers were not respected, being a Labor Code proposed by some priests.

Overall, this dissertation illuminates the process by which Chilean Catholicism faced modernity and shows the complexity of the experience of industrialization and secularization within the Chilean society in a crucial period of the history, as stated above. How did the Chilean Catholic Church interpret this period? What did the ecclesiastical hierarchy propose to solve the suffering of the working-class, i.e., the Social Question? By answering those questions, my project will also contribute to a general interpretation of the Chilean Catholic Church during the twentieth century as the social thought that emerged in the period I study defined the activities of the institution over the century. For example, on May 15, 1976, when the Pinochet dictatorship was exercising the most ruthless repression against its opponents and the Catholic Church was one of the few actors that could do something in favor of them, the Archbishop of Santiago, Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, celebrated a mass in the Cathedral of Santiago to commemorate the eighty-fifth anniversary of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*:

Today, when we commemorate the eighty-fifth anniversary when an old Pastor, paying no attention to the conventionalisms of his time and to the bond that could bind the Church with the powerful people, claimed the right of the poor, we say today as well: We want society of the future do not be a slaves' society. In any way of thinking, any modality, any system, any ideology.²³

With these words, Cardinal Silva called for the same issues that Pope Leo XIII had in 1891 with the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* about the condition of the working-class: a concern on the weakest persons of society beyond political ideologies. In this way, he offered a challenge to the Pinochet regime.

²³ Raúl Silva Henríquez, 85 [i.e. Ochenta Y Cinco] Años Encíclica "Rerum Novarum": Homilía (Santiago: Ediciones Mundo, 1976), 12.

THE RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CONTEXTS

The Church in Chile and Latin America in the nineteenth century

While in colonial times the center of the Hispanic American Christianity was Madrid due to the special powers the Spanish received from the Papacy, by the end of the nineteenth century, when the concern was on the Social Question, that center had moved to Rome.²⁴ It was not an easy and quick process, though. The independence wars in America opened a time of uncertainty for the Catholic Church since the new -and mostly unorganized- Latin American states understood that they retained the privileges of the Patronato granted by the Pope to Spain.²⁵ While before independence the King of Spain had several prerogatives over the Church, under the new political order “the congress and the executive had the right to nominate bishops, create dioceses, call councils, abolish monasteries, determine clerical incomes, and preserve ecclesiastical discipline.”²⁶ On the other hand, Rome understood that having finished the Spanish authority in America, those privileges had returned to the Pope. It was not only a political and practical issue of state intromission on clergy’s issues. It got more complicated when enlightened ideologies began to emerge within the debates. Liberalism that conducted Latin American politics in the nineteenth century also condemned the intromission of religion in public issues and state decisions. As it had been since the rise of Enlightenment in Europe, religion was no longer useful to explain reality for some of the leaders, although Catholics, in charge of the making of the new nation-states in Latin America. They shared the belief that “the new states of Latin American could only make progress if the

²⁴ Ricardo Krebs, *La Iglesia de América Latina en el siglo XIX* (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica de Chile, 2002), 73.

²⁵ Ibid., 89.

²⁶ John Lynch, *New Worlds. A religious history of Latin America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 130.

individual was freed from the prejudice of the past.”²⁷ On the other hand, the Latin American Church, following Rome, condemned the new modern and progressive trends from Enlightenment. Naturism, rationalism, indifferentism, socialism, communism, and liberalism were the mistakes of modern times according to the *Syllabus of Errors*, issued by the Vatican as an annexe to the Encyclical *Quanta Cura* in 1864.²⁸ By the middle of the century, the Church started to emphasize that its power and authority did not rely on the privileges granted by the State, rather than, it was “on the fulfillment of its religious mission and on its very own internal forces represented by the Pope, the Vicar of Christ.”²⁹

Additionally, society had changed as well and the transformations affected the way the Church performed its pastoral action. The growing population and the emergence of new social groups, like and urban low class connected to the industrial production, caused that the extension and intensification of the pastoral work.³⁰ This was a serious problem as a major portion of these new sectors were totally disconnected from Catholicism due to the influence of anti-clerical ideologies such as socialism and anarchism. From the side of the State the situation was not easy, either. The progressive laicization of the state restricted the freedom of the Church. Yet, the hierarchical social order kept as created under the Spanish rule. The marked differences between social classes were exacerbated with to contribution of the economic inequalities created by capitalism.³¹

²⁷ Ibid., 129.

²⁸ Lynch, *New Worlds*, 148 and Krebs, *La Iglesia de América Latina*, 186.

²⁹ Krebs, *La Iglesia de América Latina*, 191.

³⁰ Ibid., 186.

³¹ Ibid., 172.

A keen anticlericalism -even violent in some countries,³² and the lost of its influence on some of the society, mostly men intellectuals, made the Church took a defensive stance, in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, by the end of the century, the Church in Latin American starting a renovation process caused by several factors. First, the Church got a major integration with Rome, being two of its major demonstrations the First Plenary Council of Latin American held in Rome in 1899, and the influx of students from Latin American to the *Colegio Pio Latinoamericano* in Rome and later to the Gregorian University, as the study of the lives of the Chilean priests in the first chapter will demonstrate. Second, the Church expanded its action within society by creating new parishes and dioceses, even universities, and demanding more activity from the faithful.³³ Third, the Church started to move in the modern world with modern weapons, or, like John Lynch says, “adjusted itself to the secular state.” Therefore, the press and the Catholic congresses where the ecclesiastical hierarchy discussed the topics that concerned the most to the Church, such as the Social Question, showed this modernization on its performing. In this way, the Church managed to survive modernity, although this did not mean that the core of their hierarchical social ideas modified in any substantial way.³⁴

Politics in Chile. Equality and citizenship in theory, not practice.

After independence, Latin American elites chose democracy as the way of government. As Paul Drake asserts in his study about democracy in Latin America between 1800 and 2000, that in the nineteenth century, “Latin Americans supplanted external absolutism with republics in less than two decades. They constructed their new

³² Ibid, 270.

³³ Lynch, *New Worlds*, 132.

³⁴ Ibid.

governments largely from United States, French, and Spanish blueprints.”³⁵ However, the change was not so immediate. In the new Latin American nations, the formation of democracy was very different in theory and practice. In an ideal democracy, “a political system had to select its key leaders thorough regular elections that were reasonably participatory, free and fair, by the standards of the era.”³⁶ In these terms, Latin American democracies cannot be considered as such in the nineteenth century since not everyone had the right to vote (women, poor people and illiterates, for example) and there were tax or property qualifications for voting.³⁷ Thus, not everyone could be a citizen. In this sense, Latin American democracies in the nineteenth century can be called “political democracies,” but not “social democracies.”

If not everyone had access to citizenship, it follows that there was a dichotomy between “exclusion/inclusion.” An “excluding” democracy was a country where, despite the presence of a democratic political Constitution, not everyone could participate in politics. The reason was that most of the Latin American countries chose to follow a gradual process of making a real democracy.³⁸ Political leaders chose this path because of the fear that the social order could have been broken down by people who had not been trained in the practices of citizenship. The best example of this fear in Chile was a letter written by the leader of the organization of the Chilean state, Diego Portales as early as 1822:

Democracy, which is so loudly hawked by fools, is an absurdity in our Spanish American countries. They are to well endowed with vices, and its citizens are so lacking in virtue as to make the establishment of a republic nearly impossible.

³⁵ Paul W. Drake, *Between Tyranny and Anarchy: a History of Democracy in Latin America, 1800-2006* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁷ A good study of elections in Chile is J. Samuel Valenzuela, *Democratización Vía Reforma: la Expansión del Sufragio en Chile* (Buenos Aires: IDES, 1985).

³⁸ Ana María Stiven, *La Seducción de un Orden: las Elites y la Construcción de Chile en las Polémicas Culturales y Políticas del siglo XIX* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica, 2000).

Monarchy is not the Spanish American ideal, either. What would be gained by establishing another monarchy after our last terrible experience? The Republic is the system that we need to adopt. But, do you know how I see it for our countries?: a strong, centralized government whose members are true models of patriotism and virtue. Once they are moralized, let us have a completely liberal, free, and idealistic government in which all citizens can participate.³⁹

Portales' ideas were influential in Chile through most of the nineteenth century, a time known as the "Portalian Period."

Some contemporary people in the nineteenth century recognized the difference between a political democracy and a social one. Juan Enrique Concha, for example, in his thesis in Law *Cuestiones Obreras*, submitted in 1899 to the University of Chile, claimed that

Given the political organization, we have a very perfect democracy that organizes the government according to citizens are able of copying, at least, one or two lines of the political constitution... In this way, the political right is not, not even so, according to what we could call the right (power or social influence) that is exerts quotidianly in the relationships between rich and poor.⁴⁰

He drew attention to the perils that this inequality can have for the political system: "Within this organization it would not be surprising that some day a real conflict happened, which could be reduced to a simple formula as follows: the struggle of a powerful political democracy in order to obtain equalizing their status to their political rights."⁴¹

Changes in the economy did not contribute to resolve this imbalance between a political democracy and a social democracy. In the second half of the nineteenth century,

³⁹ Simon Collier, Chile: *The Making of a Republic, 1830-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 96.

⁴⁰ Juan Enrique Concha, "Cuestiones Obreras," in Sergio Grez-Toso, ed., *La "Cuestión Social" En Chile: Ideas Y Debates Precursores, 1804-1902* (Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivo y Museos, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 1995) 457. Concha has been widely studied, see Ximena Cruzat and Ana Tironi, "El Pensamiento frente a la Cuestión Social en Chile," in Mario Berrios, ed., *Pensamiento en Chile, 1830-1910* (Santiago: Nuestra América Ediciones, 1987), 127-151, and Patricio Valdivieso, *Dignidad Humana*.

⁴¹ Concha, "Cuestiones Obreras," 457.

the Chilean government began a process of modernization that resulted in an increase of exports, the construction of public works, deficit in the production of agricultural produce, and the migration of a great deal of the population from the countryside to the cities, especially Santiago.⁴² However, this modernization was marked by material and economic changes rather than social or political reform. In this way, according to Huerta, the “Social Question began to take form. Besides, new social sectors were shaped: the middle and working classes.”⁴³ In the decade of 1870, marginalization and poverty started to be more visible; in part, evidently, because the more rich the elite was, the clearer the differences between the social classes were.⁴⁴ As Romero affirms, “The development of capitalist relations gave form to that inorganic mass and transformed it in workers.”⁴⁵ Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, when industrialization caused social changes that challenged the limited enfranchisement and political participation, the Social Question resulted in a greater crisis that the government and the ruling class were not able to face at the beginning. Hence, the Social Question represents the contradiction between political theory and reality in this period. For the elite, the Social Question represented the terrible possibility of the end of the traditional order. For the poor, it was the symbol of injustice. Additionally, socialist and communist groups began to spread their ideas into popular sectors representing the fear for high class, and the possibility of solution for the working class.

Given this encounter between the improvement of the richness in the high class, on the one hand, and the impoverishment of the poor, on the other hand; it is not possible, therefore, to assert, as Stuvén does, that between 1870 and 1910 there was a “transition

⁴² María Antonieta Huerta and Luis Pacheco Pastene, *La Iglesia Chilena y los Cambios Sociopolíticos* (Santiago: Pehuén Editores, 1988), 128-129.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁴⁴ Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres?*, 165-185.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

from the oligarchic republic to the democratic republic, a nation of citizens.”⁴⁶ This assertion must be relativized. As will become clear through the explorations of the ideas of the Chilean Church, a democratic society did not mean, even as recently as 1935, for example, that everybody had the same rights. Democracy existed in theory, but in practice it was hardly complete. This period, I argue, may be better identified as the first time when the poor asked for rights and, consequently, to exercise their citizenship.⁴⁷ It is more accurate to see this period as the beginning of the process of spreading and struggling for the rights of citizenship. Moreover, it is not possible to claim that citizenship was already present in the whole society when, only in 1935, women got the right to vote in municipal elections and in 1949 in the presidential ones. Furthermore, it was only in 1958, when the illiterate were enfranchised.

This process demonstrates, in other words, the paradox of applying liberalism in a still traditional society. Frederick Pike argues that “Liberalism, its Chilean critics were wont to observe, made sense and produced whatever good it could only when introduced in a milieu characterized by open socio-economic structures.” Such structures meant that society was not defined by social origin of people, typical of a hierarchical organization. In this modern society, urbanization, industrial and commercial revolutions “were already under way;” and mass education had gotten already success. However, Pike argues, if liberalism was introduced in a stratified society, a pre-industrial milieu and an illiterate mass, “served only to foment a degree of social and economic exploitation previously unknown.”⁴⁸ This exploitation was exactly what happened in Chile.

⁴⁶ Ana María Stiven, “‘Cuestión Social’ y catolicismo social: de la nación oligárquica a la nación democrática” in Berríos, ed., *Catolicismo Social*, 48.

⁴⁷ In an interpretation from the “subaltern studies” school, it can be said that this time is when the poor used their agency.

⁴⁸ Frederick B. Pike, “South America’s Multifaceted Catholicism: glimpses of Twentieth century Argentina, Chile and Peru,” in Henry A. Landsberger, ed., *The Church and Social Change in Latin America* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970), 61.

Living conditions of the Chilean working class at the end of 19th century.

The social problems caused by this paradox reached such a magnitude that it was evident that new theories were needed to avoid social and political destabilization. For the first time, social problems became the concern of the whole society, although not of the state.⁴⁹ Even more, the Social Question also came to shape a perception “of national decline”⁵⁰ in the elite and intellectual sectors.⁵¹

In Chile, the social problems that formed the Social Question were consequences of the migration from the countryside to the city. Looking for better jobs and better wages, peasants moved to the cities (Santiago, Valparaíso or Concepción, mainly) or to the nitrate mines in northern Chile. Records show the fast growth of Santiago in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1810, there were 60,000 people in Santiago. By 1843, the city had 20,000 new inhabitants and by 1875, according to the census, there were 129,807. Only 20 years, that number had doubled to: 256,403. In 1920, the census counted 507,000 inhabitants.⁵² For sure, these numbers reflect new people from the countryside (and provinces in general) and the birth rate, but it is undeniable the contribution of rural immigration.⁵³ And Santiago needed workers. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, many jobs were available in the field of public works: the

⁴⁹ Valdivieso, *Dignidad Humana*, 237.

⁵⁰ Simon Collier and William Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-1994* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 183.

⁵¹ There is a great deal of literature that shows this feeling of “moral crisis” and emphasizes the “miserable social conditions” of urban workers and miners. The most famous is a speech given in 1900 by the President of the Radical Party, Enrique MacIver, which begins with the words “It seems to me that we are not happy.” Collier & Sater, *A History of Chile*, 184. For the sentiment of crisis, see also Cristián Gazmuri R., *Testimonios de una Crisis: Chile, 1900-1925* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1979).

⁵² Armando De Ramón, Santiago de Chile (1541-1991) *Historia de una Sociedad Urbana* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 221.

⁵³ De Ramón says that immigration was from all social levels. From the working class that looked for better living conditions; middle sectors that came to work in the emergent state bureaucracy and; high class for whom the comforts of the city were very appealing (and possible in this case, by the way). It seems obvious, however, that numerically, the main contribution came from the lower levels of society. De Ramón, *Santiago de Chile*, 222-223.

construction of railroads and irrigation ditches, copper mines in the Andes mountains east of Santiago, and agriculture around Santiago to produce food for the growing population of the city.⁵⁴ Additionally, by 1906, Santiago had 1,100 industries, which represented 40% of the national total.⁵⁵

In the city, unlike what workers expected, living conditions were poor. The city was not prepared to receive them, and life in the northern mines –the driest desert in the world- was far from the minimal dignity, where houses were built of wrecks from the mines and rocks from the desert. In the cities, *conventillos* were the common housing. These houses consisted of a large common hall or corridor and many small dark rooms. The hall was used for kitchen and laundry, and, since there was no sewer system, it was also where wastewater was dumped. There were no bathrooms, and rent was usurious. It was common for a family of five or more people to live in each room.⁵⁶ By 1911, 40% of the population of Santiago lived in conventillos.⁵⁷

These poor and unsanitary living conditions produced material and moral problems, among these, illnesses, epidemics, delinquency, alcoholism, and promiscuity.⁵⁸ Cholera, smallpox, yellow fever and typhoid fever were regular guests in the lives of the people during this time. In children, the most common illnesses were whooping cough, measles, diphtheria and influenza. In adults, tuberculosis was common. Finally, incidence of syphilis increased a great deal because of promiscuity.⁵⁹ Besides, the increasing cost of

⁵⁴ Ibid., 224.

⁵⁵ Richard J. Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Santiago, Chile, 1891-1941* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 10. At the end of the nineteenth century, urban growth makes that authorities decided the creation of a new political jurisdictions, the comunas, which were assimilated to the American counties. In this way, the habitable area got a huge extension. Walter, *Politics*, 8.

⁵⁶ Gonzalo Vial, *Historia de Chile (1891-1973)*, vol. II, part I, “La sociedad chilena en el cambio de siglo (1891-1920)” (Santiago: Editorial Santillana, 1981), 500.

⁵⁷ Walter, *Politics*, 14.

⁵⁸ Vial, *Historia de Chile*, vol. II, part I, 499-500

⁵⁹ Walter, *Politics*, 19.

foods made it impossible to carry on a healthy life.⁶⁰ Therefore, malnutrition aggravated the situation. Also, family constitution was broken. Over 115,524 live births, 41,928 were illegitimate in 1903.⁶¹ And infant mortality was very high. Children that managed to survive the first year did not have good expectations: not attending school, working at early age, facing abuse from an alcoholic father (when they had one) or simply vagrancy in the streets.⁶²

The city was not prepared for the arrival of the new workers and they could not do anything to change this, either. Working conditions were also deplorable. Wages were far from enough for providing food at home. The working day was sometimes more than 12 hours and there was not a Sunday rest (still less vacations). Insurance was completely non-existence. It was very common to be a widow with many children because the husband had died working. With no state intervention in the labor field in order to protect workers, they felt totally abandoned.

In this context, the pressure from the working class to improve its condition became more prevalent. This pressure was also due to the influence of leaderships from socialist and anarchistic groups.⁶³ As historian Harold Blackmore states, “The first two decades of the twentieth century saw a worsening of social conflict, deriving from particular causes but occasioned by a general situation.”⁶⁴ There were several riots in this period that were put down violently by the government. For example, in 1903 the strike

⁶⁰ Ibid., 20.

⁶¹ Ibid., 21. Walter took the information from Markos J. Mamalakis, *Historical Statistics of Chile: Demography and Labor Force*, Vol. 2 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980).

⁶² Ibid., 21-22.

⁶³ For a good analysis of the socialist influence, see Grez Toso, ed., *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 11-44.

⁶⁴ Harold Blackmore, “From the War of the Pacific to 1930,” in *Chile Since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 62.

of the port workers of Valparaíso, the main port of Chile, was finished with 32 killed and 84 wounded; another strike in Antofagasta in 1906 left hundreds of workers dead.⁶⁵

The most tragic popular riot was called the “Matanza de Santa María de Iquique” in December 21, 1907. Five days before, December 16th, thousands of striking workers came with their families from the mines from the interior, in the Pampa, to Iquique on the coast. They took refuge in the *Escuela Santa María* while they negotiated with the local authorities to get their demands. However, negotiations failed and the workers were told to leave the school; otherwise, the military would shoot. Since they decided to stay, the military carried out their threat. Although the exact number killed is unknown, scholars conclude that there were more than three hundred dead. The Matanza had a big impact on public opinion in that period, given not only the great amount of dead, but also the irrational answer from the authorities that shot men, women and children who stayed peacefully in the school.⁶⁶

Responses to the Social Question. The fear of the elite of starting to share “their” spaces.

As it has been in the military response in Iquique, the problem that the elite faced, in their own view, was less a real concern about the poor, than “What to do with the poor?”⁶⁷ In his very well-executed book, Romero states, “the poor were for the elite in an alien and threatening actor.”⁶⁸ And by using the word alien, it was obvious that the elite thought the poor were not part of the society. The elite identified the sectors where the poor lived as everything what was the opposite of their clean and correct way of life.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 63.

⁶⁶ There is a great deal of literature about this particular event in the Chilean historiography. See Eduardo Devés, *Los que van a morir te saludan. Historia de una masacre. Escuela de Santa María*. Iquique, 1907 (Santiago: Ediciones Documentas, 1988) and Sergio González Miranda, *Ofrenda a una masacre: claves e indicios históricos de la emancipación pampina de 1907* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2007).

⁶⁷ Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres?*

⁶⁸ Ibid., 9.

“When the elite looked at the living conditions of the poor, they put together sanitary and moral problems; everything was there a horrible mess of misery and corruption.”⁶⁹ This conceptualization of the “other” lasted at least until the 1930s, although it became less prevalent. Also, as Romero correctly contends, the elite were afraid of the poor because they “had broken their bond to the society.”⁷⁰

The Chilean elite defined society according to education and literacy. They identified three social classes, according to economic characteristics: the upper class; the emergent middle class, a product of public education; and the always-present but now transformed lower class. However, these groups were organized into two sectors: the elite and the poor people. The differentiating element between these two sectors was the education of the people, which meant, the capacity of taking part in the public space. Members of the middle class were considered elite because they were educated and learned and were those who could take part in the public opinion. Therefore, it was a very enlightened meaning of society, but at the same time a very traditional one because in these two big groups did not exist any possibility of upward mobility. The poor were not allowed to become part of the elite. As Walter correctly argues, “whatever the gulf between the upper and middle classes, it paled in comparison to the distance between the elite and Santiago’s working classes.”⁷¹

The separation by literacy was clear also in the physical space. Parks and plazas, the modern “public spaces,” were exclusively used and reserved for the elite. Of course, most of the neighborhoods of the working class were not close to where the elite lived. Like many Latin American cities today, the cities were highly segregated. Santiago was organized around the main square, the “Plaza de Armas.” The elite lived in this

⁶⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 155.

⁷¹ Walter, *Politics*, 13.

downtown area, while the lower classes lived in the west and to the north of Mapocho River. Peter DeSahzo notes that in Santiago there was not “a single working class neighborhood, but rather a series of them. Some extensive, other small and isolated.”⁷² On the other hand, the economic growth from 1850 produced in the elite the yearning for luxury items and for building large, opulent houses in the European style of the moment.⁷³

This crisis was not only a material crisis –the commonly called Social Question by the elite-, it was also a crisis of the organization of society. Who was part of the society now? In this modern time, workers were unable to act as citizens, although workers were relevant actors of the industrialization and modernization of the country. The poor conditions of the working class first caught the attention of several persons and institutions, but not of the State. In general, despite the seriousness of the situation, political authorities delayed the decision to be in charge of the Social Question. According to Huerta, “The state, within the classical concept of subsidiarity, had not been interested in the social problem, had not assumed its existence, and, therefore, this issue was not part of their concerns, nor of the concerns of traditional political parties.”⁷⁴ In the 1870’s, the political authorities tried to make some decisions about the hygienic conditions of the city. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, Intendant of Santiago in 1872, is best remembered for the embellishment of the city. Vicuña ordered the city free of vagrants and prostitutes. He also ordered the demolition of huts and conventillos, but there was no concern about the future of the displaced people.⁷⁵ Romero correctly contends that

⁷² Peter DeSchazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 56. Walter notes that notwithstanding the segregation in some parts of the cities, mainly in the downtown, it was possible some diversity of social classes in a small zone, but I suggest that this situation was mostly about the people that worked in the high class sector. Walter, *Politics*, 10.

⁷³ De Ramón, *Santiago de Chile*, 226.

⁷⁴ Huerta, *La Iglesia Chilena*, 131.

⁷⁵ Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres?*, 152.

Vicuña's policies "although faced natural resistance, were accepted while there was a very intense awareness of the danger."⁷⁶ More than a concern for the poor, these decisions show the fear that the elite had of the poor. Vicuña Mackenna's decisions meant the expulsion of the poor from the city, their "own city (ciudad propia)."

In addition, it was believed that the poor living conditions of the lower classes and their base morality were related. For this reason, the state focused more on the improvement of hygienic conditions rather than on enacting codes or a corpus of legislation. The state was not yet, of course, a social welfare state. For example, in 1892 the *Consejo de Higiene*, which was in charge of wastewater problems, also conducted campaigns to promote vaccination, although this was not compulsory. In the case of alcoholism and prostitution, the "social illnesses," the goal of the state was to protect society (understood as the elite) instead of eradicating these problems. For example, measures were taken to demolish the conventillos, but not to build houses for the working class. On a more general level, there were other legal initiatives that "slept" in the Congress from the 1880's. Only in 1906 did the Congress enact Law 1.838, which made provisions to organize housing for the working class. However, the results were inadequate to the huge problem. As Vial notes, in 1922 "in conventillos in Santiago lived until 10 persons per room still."⁷⁷

Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation has six chapters. In the first chapter, "The Romanization of the Chilean Ecclesiastical Hierarchy," after a study of the Romanization process by which the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy modernized in a context of a very hierarchical society with a powerful elite, I present the biographies of twelve Chilean priests who stood out

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Vial, *Historia de Chile*, 504.

within the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy due to their concern on the Social Question. These twelve priests are also the main characters of this dissertation, as they are who authored most of the text studied in the following chapters. I gather them in three groups. First, there are the Archbishops of Santiago of the period covered by this dissertation: Mariano Casanova, Juan Ignacio González, and Crescente Errázuriz. Bishops Martín Rücker, José María Caro, and Rafael Edwards are in the second group. I chose them because they are who, among the priest concerned on the social problems, not only created several social initiatives, but they also had an abundant production of articles and books on the subject. Finally, in the third group, the priests are: Clovis Montero, Guillermo Viviani, Carlos Casanueva, Bishop Miguel Claro, and the Jesuits Fernando Vives and Jorge Fernández Pradel. This is a highly descriptive chapter but that help to presents the persons that wrote the texts analyzed in the next chapters. It also helps to understand that their work on social issues did not was isolated from the other religious concern.

Second chapter is entitled “The secularized Church. The Modern Catholic Tools to talk about the Social Question.” In it, I argue that by adopting modern means and ways of communication to talk about the Social Question, the Chilean Catholic Church secularized itself. These new means and ways were three. The first one was *La Revista Católica*, which was the official journal of the Chilean Church. Second, there were the seven pastorals of the three Archbishops that are about the Social Question or some of its aspects, issued between 1889 and 1921. Third, there were two Catholic Congresses that centered on the analysis and debate of the Social Question.

Chapter number three, “The religious nature of the Social Question” demonstrates that despite the modern “clothes” used to talk as showed in chapter two, the core of the discourse of the Chilean Catholic Church continued with the traditional definition of a

hierarchical social organization. To do it, I study how the priests defined the Social Question in the different texts, what solution proposed, and what they thought it was the role of the laity -through the yet not institutionalized Catholic Social Action- and the State in this solution.

“Material help, moral concerns: The Church examines the Social Question” is the title of the four chapter. This is a detailed analysis of the social ideas of the Catholic Church. I study separately the different problems of the Social Question addressed by the priests: alcoholism, workers’ housing, and Sunday rest. Next, I study the importance of workers’ associations for the Church to resolve these problems. I finish with a study on how the Church addressed the situation of workers in the countryside, which historiography normally does not consider as Social Question is defined like an urban problem. The aim of this chapter is to show that beyond the practical solutions proposed by the Church, which most of times involves modern means like the press or diverse organizations of workers, its idea of a hierarchical society in which the poor had a immobile position remains intact.

The fifth chapter is the shortest one, although with the longest title: “Three priests, one question, and different audiences: Martín Rucker, José María Caro, and Rafael Edwards.” It is a study of how the ideas of the Church worked in specific cases. For that, analyze texts of the Bishops Martín Rucker, José María Caro and Rafael Edwards. While the ideas remained the same as the ones explored on the previous chapter, how these three priests spoke and what they talked about changed according the audience to which it was directed.

Finally, the sixth chapter is entitled “The origin of the concept of Christian Democracy within the Chilean Catholic Church, 1891-1920.” I study the origin within the Chilean Catholic Church of the term “Christian Democracy.” I argue that by the

beginning of the twentieth century, this term did not have the political meaning, as it would be in the second half of the century. Rather, it is the secularized response of the Church to the Social Question, as it put together a religious term (Christian) with a word that represented modernity (democracy).

A final note on the use of some words. Most of times, I translated “patrón” as “employers,” but sometimes I preferred to keep the Spanish term in order the sentence did not lose strength. Also, every time I use the word “people” is for the original “pueblo,” not persons. I never used “people” to mean “persons.” I decided to use “Social Works” for “obras sociales,” and I have abbreviated three names: *La Revista Católica* (LRC), *El Estandarte Católico* (EEC), and the *Sociedad de Obreros San José* (SOSJ).

Chapter 1: The Romanization of the Chilean Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

INTRODUCTION

As delineated in the introduction of this dissertation, over the second half of the nineteenth century, the Chilean Catholic Church, as in others Latin American countries, engaged with Rome by following the authority of the Pope and joining, therefore, the “Universal Church.”¹ One of the main elements of this renovation process was a renewed clergy educated under the guidelines of the Vatican, and even sometimes traveling to Rome to obtain their education. Yet, the social composition of the Chilean clergy remained the same as before; it responded to the hierarchical organization of the society of Chile. While the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy belonged to the economic and social elite of the country,² the low clergy, those who were attended parishes in lower neighborhoods or far from Santiago, the capital, came from the middle and low social. Consequently, the differences within the Chilean clergy were not only economic but also social and cultural. However, these differences were not enough to create distance between them in the defense of the Church; in fact, everybody accepted the social order as they knew it, and social reforms were not a possibility for anybody within the Church, no mattering his place in the ecclesiastical structure.³

By presenting the lives of the most relevant Archbishops, bishops, and priests who took decisions to face the social problems of the period in Chile, this chapter aims to demonstrate that Church’s struggle with the Chilean state were not as violent as in other Latin America countries due to the shared concern on the maintenance of the social order. I also argue that this common preoccupation had, in turn, its explanation in the social

¹ Krebs, *La Iglesia de América Latina*, 10.

² Ibid., 86.

³ Ibid., 87.

composition of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As drafter in the previous paragraph, the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy had the same social origin that the rest of the Chilean elite. And, an elite, whatever the context, is influential by definition. However, for the case of Chile, this was even more pronounced. Chilean elite held power since colonial times, even independence from Spain in the 1810s did not affect this power; quite the opposite, the new republican political order, reinforced its dominance over society. This was thanks to the way in which the elite constructed and maintained its power: kinship politics.⁴ The Chilean elite was one big family that held almost all the important political, economic, and religious posts.⁵ The best example is the Errázuriz family. Federico Errázuriz Zañartu was President of the Republic between 1871 and 1876, and his son, Federico Errázuriz Echaurren, was also President in the period 1896-1901. Brother and uncle of the two Federicos, Crescente Errázuriz was Archbishop of Santiago between 1918 and 1931, same post that had achieved in 1847 his uncle, Rafael Valentín Valdivieso. By the 1860s, according to Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, Santiago was not “a city of men but relatives.”⁶ However, maintaining the power and the structure of this power did not mean that the elite was not open to incorporate new members. Indeed, either foreign or Chilean, if somebody was talented, had money, or both, the elite coopted him.⁷

Thus, within the Chilean elite, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was a very significant actor. The Catholic Church, as a cultural influential institution, was powerful in keeping the hierarchical social order as it has been established centuries ago. As Pierre Bourdieu states, “the very own characteristics of bishop’s post [had the aim of] controlling and

⁴ Manuel Vicuña, *La Belle époque chilena. Alta sociedad y mujeres de elite en el cambio de siglo* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2001), 24.

⁵ Ibid., 23.

⁶ Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Historia crítica y social de la ciudad de Santiago desde su fundación hasta nuestros días (1541-1868)*, vol. 2 (Valparaíso: Impr. Del Mercurio, 1869), 74.

⁷ Vicuña, *La Belle époque chilena*, 22-23

leading the activities of a group of priests who have been especially recruited and educated to perform the symbolic power of imposing an inculcating a world's vision.”⁸ Although, this social organization received one of the most prominent attacks between 1870 and 1930 when secularization and the Social Question threatened elite's power, and, consequently, Church's power, the ecclesiastical hierarchy faced the challenge as group. Knowing their lives will give the reader a sense of the Chilean Church at the time because, the persons were who defined the institution.

Yet, the Church, as institution, had experienced transformations in the second half of the nineteenth century as well. The Vatican had begun to have a closer communication with Latin American in general and with their countries by designating bishops who were faithful to Rome. In addition, the Vatican supported the creation of Seminaries for the education of a new generation of priests.⁹ But the most important educational institution for the Latin American clergy was not in the new continent but in Europe. The Colegio Pio Latinoamericano was created by the Pope Pius IX in 1858 thanks to the initiative of the Chilean priest José Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre. As Lisa Edwards has pointed out, the education and careers of the religious men that there studied, “have served as a critical part of a broader strategy to modernize and Romanize the Latin American Catholic Church in the face of raising secularism.”¹⁰ Therefore, after starting their studies in their countries, a selected group of the Latin American seminaries were sent to Rome to finish them, obtain a doctorate, and, obviously, be ordained. When they returned to their countries, as this chapter will show for the case of Chile, they had relevant posts within the Church and were in charge of facing the most urgent problem of their times, the Social

⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *La eficacia simbólica. Religión y política* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2009), 119.

⁹ Krebs, *La Iglesia de América Latina*, 275.

¹⁰ Lisa M. Edwards, *Roman Virtues. The Education of Latin America clergy in Rome, 1858-1962* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 1.

Question. They became bishops, Archbishops, teachers at the Seminary and/or universities.¹¹ In fact, the alumni of the Colegio Pio Latinoamericano was the best seeds of the Romanization process. Ricardo Krebs, in his fine study on the Latin American Church in the nineteenth century, argues that “the priest that had studied at the Colegio Pio Latinoamericano felt he was a server of the Universal Church represented by and infallible Pope.”¹²

This context explains also why this chapter differs from the others chapters by not focusing exclusively on the Social Question but, at the same time, this will show that the Social Question was not an isolated phenomenon. First, there are the biographies of the Archbishops of Santiago between 1887 and 1931: Mariano Casanova (1887-1908), Juan Ignacio González (1908-1918), and Crescente Errázuriz (1919-1931). They are relevant for this dissertation because, due to their post, they were in charge of taking decisions about the actions of the Church on social issues. Also, they wrote pastoral letters that defined the Catholic social thought of the period, as the next two chapters will show. Second, there are three biographies of the most dedicated priests to the social issues within the ecclesiastical hierarchy: Martín Rücker, José María Caro, and Rafael Edwards. They were also chosen because they had an abundant corpus of texts (pastoral letters, articles in journals and newspapers, lectures) that distinguished them within the Catholic Church, as I will study on chapter four. Finally, there are small biographical notes of six other priests who also showed concern on the Social Question. They are the Jesuits Fernando Vives and Jorge Fernández Pradel, and the secular priests Clovis Montero, Miguel Claro, Guillermo Viviani, and Carlos Casanueva. They do not receive the same

¹¹ Krebs, *La Iglesia de América Latina*, 275.

¹² *Ibid.*, 276.

attention than the previous six priests because they did not hold powerful posts than Casanova, González, Errázuriz, Rücker, Caro, and Edwards.

Beyond the categorization I use to present them, these twelve priests represent the new spirit within the Church that aimed to preserve the values of Catholicism under the menace of secularization and socialism. As one of them, the Bishop Rafael Edwards, recalled when the Jesuit Fernando Vives died in 1935:

Monsignor Casanova sent to Rome, among other seminarians, Clovis Montero and whom write these lines, to finish our studies [around 1897]. We were in Rome in the height of social times: Leo XIII wanted we followed Toniolo's courses, the sociologist in whom he trusted the most.

While that happened in Europe, Edwards continued, in Chile,

the Seminary in Santiago received in all its courses, a very large phalanx of emigrants from others Catholics schools, and above all, a prestigious group of young late vocations. Within a couple of months, university professors like Carlos Casanueva, entered to study Philosophy, Latin, and the others theological courses.¹³

THE ARCHBISHOPS

Mariano Casanova

Mariano Casanova was born in July 25, 1833, in Santiago. Thanks to an educational scholarship, he attended secondary school at the *Instituto Nacional*, the best public high school in Chile at that time.¹⁴ In 1847, when he was only 14 years old, he began his studies in the Seminary of Santiago to become a priest where due to his good grades, he was appointed teacher in 1851. He taught courses on Humanities, Philosophy, Theology, and Canonical Law, as well as Philosophy and Faith's Fundamentals at the Instituto Nacional until 1868. In 1860, Casanova founded the Saint Agustín Literary

¹³ Rafael Edwards, "El R. P. Vives y la Acción Social de Chile," *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, October 1935, 478.

¹⁴ The Instituto Nacional is until today the best public high school for men in Chile.

Academy at the Seminary, with the aim of preparing and training future ecclesiastical writers. On September 20, 1856, Casanova was ordained a priest. In addition, he became a lawyer, receiving a law degree without an exam since the authorities decided that “Casanova did not need it to prove his juridical knowledge because he had demonstrated he was competent.”¹⁵ Given his well-known skills, in 1859 he was appointed member of the Theology Faculty at the University of Chile. In 1865, he went to Europe with three of his students. Pope Pius IX received them, who formed a very good impression of Casanova and his capabilities.

Casanova had good relations with the government and the elite, of which he also was part, certainly. He was classmate or teacher of most of the people who worked in the government and were outstanding public men.¹⁶ Moreover, Crescente Errázuriz, who will be also Archbishop in the future, argued that the Casanova’s closest friends were not people from the clergy, but from the political elite: “This inclination to be friend of the powerful politicians was a defect of Casanova, but it was beneficial for the Church in many occasions.”¹⁷

His auspicious career in Santiago was interrupted in 1868, although the interruption actually resulted in a promotion in his ecclesiastical career.¹⁸ Casanova was

¹⁵ Julio Retamal Ávila, *Monseñor Mariano Casanova Casanova, 1886-1908: Tercer Arzobispo de Santiago* (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1981), 12.

¹⁶ In fact, in 1868, the government appointed him as part of the committee that went to Lima, Peru, to bring home the mortal remains of Bernardo O’Higgins (1781-1842), a Chilean General who fought in the War of Independence. He is called “The Father of the Chilean Fatherland” (“Padre de la Patria”).

¹⁷ Fidel Araneda Bravo, *Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones Paulinas, 1986), 601. Casanova was known since his youth for his preference to keep friendly relation with the elite over persons of other social origins. Crescente Errázuriz recalled on his memories that at the Seminary, when studying Theology and working at the same time like supervisor of the students of the humanities’ section, “students accused him of attending with particular considerateness students whose fathers were wealthy and important within the elite; indeed, since then, he started visiting regularly their houses where he was loved and appreciated.” Crescente Errázuriz, *Algo de lo que he visto: memorias de don Crescente Errázuriz* (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1934), 351-352.

¹⁸ Araneda affirms that the creation of the ecclesiastical government of Valparaíso (city that by 1870’s decade was not yet a Bishopric) was thanks to the influences of Casanova in the Chilean government. Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 595.

appointed as priest and external Vicar of Valparaíso, the main port of Chile, 80 miles away from Santiago. Four years later, in 1872, Valparaíso was declared a Vicariate and Casanova was appointed his first Vicar. Among his pastoral labor, the foundation of the Saint Raphael Seminary stands out as his main legacy. To accomplish this, Casanova collected the money by asking for alms from the richest neighbors of Valparaíso. He also was concerned about the spread of Protestantism¹⁹ and Masonry within the population. Additionally, Casanova founded a nursing home for poor girls and supported the foundation of the Catholic Society of Primary Instruction. Female religious orders were in charge of both organizations.²⁰

Casanova reached the peak of his career in 1886 when he was appointed Archbishop of Santiago. He was elected after a strong and long struggle between the Chilean Catholic Church and the government started when the previous Archbishop, Rafael Valentín Valdivieso, died in 1878. The fight ended when both actors met in the Vatican and Pope Leo XIII settled the issue by proposing the appointment of Mariano Casanova, who was accepted by the Chilean government.²¹

During Casanova's administration, in 1888, the Catholic Church founded the Catholic University. However, the project to give the Catholic Church a university did not have the approval and support of Casanova at the beginning. The desire of some laymen from the Conservative party to found the university should be understood in the

¹⁹ The spreading of Protestantism was a particular problem for the Catholic Church in Valparaíso given the great influence of English immigrants in the city. René Millar, "Aspectos de la religiosidad porteña: Valparaíso 1830-1930," *Historia* 33 (2000): 297-368.

²⁰ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 596.

²¹ His election was marked by the conflict about the prerogatives of the State over the Church. Taking a Spanish legacy, the government appointed the Archbishop position to the priest Francisco de Paula Taforó. However, the ecclesiastical hierarchy nominated the post to Monsignor Joaquín Larraín Gandarillas. Sol Serrano studied in detail this conflict in the last chapter of his book *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?*, 319-344.

context of Chile's secularization in the nineteenth century.²² However, Casanova was not assured of obtaining the necessary money for this enterprise and was afraid of the shameful situation that the Catholic Church might face if the idea failed. After obtaining support of some priests within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the group that promoted the project finally convinced Casanova. In the political field, Casanova also had an important role in the conflict between Congress and the President of the Republic that culminated in the civil war in 1891. He tried, without success, to avoid the confrontation, and when the war was over, he called for unity in the country in his *Pastoral sobre la necesidad de orar en favor de la paz en el presente conflicto político*.

In 1899, Casanova received an important mission from the Vatican: to take the chair of the Plenary Council of the Spanish American Episcopate in Rome. Casanova declined to be the President of all the sessions and only presided the first one. His several and recognized speeches in the Council made Casanova a strong candidate for being appointed as Cardinal. However, as will be noted, this possibility came to nothing.

His work as Archbishop was marked also by social work. Casanova was one of the main promoters in Chile of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Having received the document from Rome, Casanova published a pastoral about it: *Pastoral que don Mariano Casanova, Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile, dirige al clero y fieles al publicar la Encíclica de nuestro Santísimo Padre León XII sobre la condición de los obreros*. Beginning in 1891, the Social Question became increasingly important to Casanova's work. He already had written one about alcoholism in 1889 and between 1892 and 1905 he wrote three more pastorals about social issues: *Pastoral sobre la santificación del domingo* (1892), *Pastoral sobre la propaganda de doctrinas irreligiosas y antisociales*

²² Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?*

(1893), and *Pastoral acerca de la necesidad de mejorar la condición social del pueblo* (1905).

Historians and his contemporaries have diversely interpreted Casanova's personality. Although they recognize his important role in trying to return to the stability and peace after the civil war in 1891, and they praise his work in the social field advocating for the working class, the understanding of his personality was affected by a brain hemorrhage he suffered in 1877.²³ The Vatican had considered Casanova a perfect candidate for being appointed Cardinal. However, his personality or the consequences of the brain stroke he suffered, frustrated this possibility. Historian Jaime Eyzaguirre mentions the opinion of Pope Leo XIII when the Chilean government suggested the idea: "His Holiness believed that the intellectual power of the Archbishop had decayed visibly... 'I can affirm to you, the Pope said, that the Archbishop is not the same person I met in the Council ten years ago.'" ²⁴ Furthermore, his manners, strange to the Chilean clergy, as Vial notes, did not seem to have contributed to a good impression of his personality: Casanova "was a Bishop according the Italian way; affable, maybe a little bit pompous, shrewd maneuvering, erudite, a good discourser, fond of comfortable life, although without exaggeration."²⁵ Araneda, on the contrary, has a more balanced opinion: "When a man, especially if he is a priest, can have many good and extraordinary qualities, and he receives honors and high appointments because of these qualities, his

²³ According to some historians, this situation affected his attitudes and his way of relating with people. Crescente Errázuriz, Archbishop of Santiago between 1918 and 1931, was a very well recognized historian. In his memoirs, he states that the brain stroke "increased some trends of Casanova's character such as his lack of consistency, easiness for changing his opinion without any reason, little consistency keeping friendship to the point of it could be argued he did not have friends." Errázuriz's strong opinion is surprising, though it is possible his ideas are influenced by some misunderstanding with Casanova, or derived from the particular personality of Casanova. The opinion of Errázuriz is quoted by Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 592.

²⁴ Jaime Eyzaguirre, *Chile durante el gobierno de Errázuriz Echaurren* (Santiago: Editorial Zig-Zag, 1957), 277.

²⁵ Vial, *Historia de Chile*, vol. II, part I, 827.

work causes rivalry and enviousness.”²⁶ Regarding Casanova’s inclination to be related to the elite, Araneda argues that this eagerness to be friend of important people was normal among Chileans during this time.

Additionally, Casanova’s stroke might have affected his personality, but not his intelligence. His pastoral works demonstrated it. He always recruited intelligent priests with strong personalities as his assistant priests, regardless of their view of him. Manuel Román, for example, had a very humble social origin.²⁷ Apart from his brain problem, Casanova was a healthy person. Some years before his death, he suffered a serious nervous breakdown. However, it did not dwindle his energy. None of the historians discussed here say anything about the direct cause of his death; they only refer that Casanova “was seriously sick in April, 1908,”²⁸ and died the next month, on May 18.

Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre

On his deathbed, May 1908, Mariano Casanova was visited by the President of Chile, Pedro Montt. At that time, Casanova asked Montt to appoint Juan Ignacio González as his successor in the Archbishopric.²⁹ Why the recommendation? It is said that Fray Andresito had predicted that González Eyzaguirre family would have two children: one would be Archbishop and the other one, a prominent citizen.³⁰ When Juan Ignacio and his brother Domingo were registered at the Santiago’s Seminary, Casanova was a professor there. He would have said: “I have a future Archbishop in my class!”³¹

²⁶ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 593.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 603.

²⁸ Retamal, *Monseñor Mariano Casanova*, 24 and Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 620.

²⁹ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 620.

³⁰ Fray Andresito (1800-1853) was (and it is until today) a popular Spanish-Chilean Franciscan who has been postulated by his religious order for canonization. His application is currently in process.

³¹ Julio Retamal Ávila, *Monseñor Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre, 1908-1918: Cuarto Arzobispo de Santiago* (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1981), 8.

Juan Ignacio González would confirm this prophecy during his career, above all during the time both worked together in Valparaíso.

Eyzaguirre was born on June 13, 1844. He studied at the Seminary of Santiago beginning in 1855, becoming a priest in September 1867. He was not a brilliant student, but his pensiveness set him apart from the rest of the students.³² His first designation was in the *San Saturnino* Parish in the popular and poor Yungay neighborhood in 1868, a couple of blocks to the west of downtown Santiago. Some historians claim that in this post González developed a predilection for working in favor of the poor. He had been there only one year when he was appointed assistant vicar of Mariano Casanova in Valparaíso. There, he supported Casanova's idea to found the Saint Raphael Seminary and, for that, Casanova appointed González vice principal of the Seminar between 1871 and 1872. That year, González returned to Santiago and held the same appointment in the Seminary in Santiago. There, he taught Sacred History and Spanish.

As it was his deep desire, González returned to Valparaíso in 1879. He was in charge of the *Doce Apóstoles* Parish, one of the biggest in the diocese, with a population of 50,000. To face this huge work, González had three assistant vicars, but he also traveled throughout the diocese, riding a horse in order to preach in every neighborhood. In 1886, González took on a serious cholera epidemic, in which he played a very active role by founding the "Barón Isolation Hospital."³³ His pastoral work in Valparaíso was

³² The report about him in 1860 "His performance has been fairly good, his capacity is not outstanding; albeit his behavior is pure and his piety has been, above all in the last years, noteworthy." The report is in the Archive of the Archbishopric of Santiago and is quoted by Virginia Rhode, *Mons. Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre, el Arzobispo de los Pobres*. Thesis submitted to the School of Education, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 1966, 11.

³³ Historians relate an anecdote about this that reflects his charity. A very sick man went to the lazaretto. However, because he was vomiting constantly, nobody wanted to take him out of the ambulance to get him into the Lazaretto. González held the man in his arms and brought him into the hospital, no minding the vomiting. Retamal, *Monseñor Juan Ignacio González*, 12-13. Juan Ignacio González Errázuriz, *El Arzobispo del Centenario. Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre* (Santiago: Ediciones Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2003), 36-37.

directed toward the popular classes and the containment of socialism, communism, and Masonry as well. He founded the *Sociedad de Obreros San José* (1883),³⁴ the *Círculo de Obreros*, and the *Escuela Nocturna*; and brought the *Hermanos de las Escuelas Cristianas* to Valparaíso to be in charge of the *Escuela de San Vicente de Paul*. In some of his social labor, he used money from his heritage to fund some of his social reforms efforts. Some poor people went to the parish and González helped them financially. In addition, the finishing of the construction of the *Doce Apóstoles* Church was possible due to his economical support as well.³⁵ In his struggle against the spread of leftist ideologies, in 1895 González financially supported the creation of the Catholic newspaper *La Unión de Valparaíso*. He also contributed with articles to this newspaper.

However, due to his weak health, in 1889 González decided to quit the appointment in the parish to focus on his educational labor at the Saint Raphael Seminary, where he was appointed as Principal in 1888. His assistant there was Father Martín Rücker. However, González stayed there only until 1891 because he decided to become a Jesuit. He just had the opportunity to be novice, though, because Domingo Cruz, who was González's teacher at the Seminary, convinced him to abandon the Society. At the same time, ecclesiastical authorities decided to appoint him Ecclesiastical Governor and External Vicar of Valparaíso. Finally, González returned to Santiago in 1891. That year, he was appointed Principal of the *Sociedad de Obreros San José*, and in 1894, he promoted the foundation of the *Centro Cristiano*, which offered free primary and secondary education for the working class. In 1896, González was appointed priest of *El Salvador* Parish, and four years later, 1900, Capitular Vicar of Santiago. However, he

³⁴ About the important role of González within the *Sociedad de Obreros San José*, see chapter four of this dissertation.

³⁵ The two historians that refer this event –Retamal and González Errázuriz– do not say when exactly these events happened.

rejected the Vicariate because of medical reasons. In 1907, he was appointed Archbishop of Flaviades (not in charge of diocese), which in practice meant that he was going to be one of the assistants of Archbishop Casanova.³⁶

His career reached its peak the next year, in 1908, when González was appointed Archbishop of Santiago, after Archbishop Casanova passed away. Historians agree that his social work in favor of the working class determined his pastoral labor while in office. Retamal states that during his administration “an actual consciousness about social apostolate arose in Chile.” Furthermore, he was called by his contemporaries “The Archbishop of the poor.”³⁷ This is the main difference with Casanova because although the former Archbishop wrote several pastoral letters on social problems, González did more actions in favor of the poor.

One of his main projects was the organization of the Catholic Social Congress in 1910, in conjunction with the lay organization *Federación de Obras Sociales*, on occasion of the celebration of Chilean Independence’s centenary. It pursued three goals: improving the situation of workers, establishing the reputation of the Catholic Church as a leader of social reform, and the study of new social measures.³⁸ One of the initiatives of the Congress that was implemented was the constitution of the *Consejo de Habitaciones Obreras*, which built 135 houses for the poor in Santiago by 1912.³⁹

³⁶ González Errázuriz relates that the Chilean government was very interested in promoting the career of González, although he does not explain why. In the case of the appointment as Archbishop of Flaviades, following the rules of the time that stated that the government had to proposed the candidates to the Vatican to any appointment, González Errázuriz says that notwithstanding Mariano Casanova had regard for González, he did not support his candidature for the appointment because of Gonzalez’ weak health, and because Casanova did not want to appear in public like he was supporting the government. González, *El Arzobispo del Centenario*, 44-46.

³⁷ Retamal, *Monseñor Juan Ignacio González*, 16.

³⁸ Ibid., 18. The committee that convoked the Congress was also formed by Ramón Ángel Jara, Archbishop of La Serena and Apostolic Administrator of Ancud; Luis Enrique Izquierdo Archbishop of Concepción; Luis Silva Lezaeta, Apostolic Vicar of Antofagasta; and Martín Rücker, Apostolic Vicar of Tarapacá. In other words, it was the whole Chilean Catholic Church that made the call for the Congress. More details of the Congress on chapter two.

³⁹ See chapter four of this dissertation.

Other social initiatives of González were, for instance, the foundation of the *Sociedad Victoria Prieto*, in 1908, whose goal was the promotion of Catholic faith among wives' workers. In order to guarantee the attendance of the students, the Society provided lunch for them. González was instrumental as well in the creation of other similar organizations such as the *Escuela Técnica Femenina*, a Workshop-School, a Popular Theatre, the *Patronato San Isidro*; *La Hormigueta* (every woman, like a little ant, had to recollect clothes for the poor); the *Sociedad de Instrucción y Habitaciones para Obreros*. He also created the *Secretariado Social*, as part of the initiatives of the Catholic Action, appointing Father Rafael Edwards its director, although it was later finished by his successor, Archbishop Errázuriz, just he had been appointed in the post.⁴⁰ Taking into account the penurious situation of the newspapermen, he decided to found a workhouse for them. The idea was to “instill in them the good principles of the Christian morality by teaching them an instruction according to their social class.”⁴¹ He also kept alive the ideas of Catholic social teaching by celebrating yearly the anniversary of the *Rerum Novarum*, a day that was declared as “Christian Work Day.” The *Sociedad de Obreros de San José* was in charge of the celebration.

González was the first ecclesiastical authority to work for and support many labor unions. His aim in doing this was to keep “capitalism within fair limits because although capitalism is very needed, it is easily exposed to abuse and tyranny.”⁴² Also, he started a new section in *La Revista Católica*, the oldest journal of the Chilean Catholic Church, called “Social Action.”⁴³ In 1914, González founded the *Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos* (known by its Spanish acronym ANEC). Finally, when the

⁴⁰ *El Seminario de Santiago de los Santiago Ángeles Custodios. Recuerdos. Testimonio de veneración y gratitud de sus ex-alumnos, 1857-1957* (Santiago: Arzobispado de Santiago, 1957), 289.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 315.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 290 and chapter four of this dissertation.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 288 and next chapter of this dissertation.

economic consequences of the First World War affected the poor, González organized the *Olla del Pobre* in order to provide food to them.

Attacking the moral effects of the Social Question, González ran a campaign against alcoholism through his administration. He supported the legal project to reform the alcohol and bars' law. He also enacted a decree in 1912 with the aim of forbidding the renting of ecclesiastical properties to establish liquors stores.⁴⁴

In 1917, arteriosclerosis seriously affected González making his work very difficult. He died on June 9, 1918. On his deathbed, he charged the priests there and the clergy in general, "to work for keeping and improving all the works in favor of the poor, and for increasing religious vocations."⁴⁵ When his death was known, more than 600 persons arrived to his house in representation of the *Sociedad de Obreros San José*. As it was his wish sometime in the past, González died as a Jesuit. He was nominated as a member of the Society of Jesus only a few days before his death.

Crescente Errázuriz

The ecclesiastical career of Crescente Errázuriz Valdivieso did not seem to aim to the Archbishopric. Unlike Casanova and González, he spent long time retired and did not hold prominent administrative post in the Church. However, he was very influential within the elite as he belonged to one of the most distinguished families of the Chilean high class: the Errázuriz.⁴⁶ He was born on November 28, 1839. His parents were Francisco Javier Errázuriz Aldunate and Rosario Valdivieso Zañartu. His father, sixty-six years old for Crescente's birth, died when the future Archbishop was only five years old. As in the case of González, Fray Andresito also met Errázuriz and predicted that the child

⁴⁴ Ibid., 292.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 335 and chapter three of this dissertation.

⁴⁶ Solène Bergot, *Entre "pouvoir" et "devoir." Dynamiques internes et construction sociale d'une famille de l'élite chilienne: le cas des Errázuriz Urmeneta, 1856-1930*, Diss., Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile and Université Paris 1, 2013.

would be priest.⁴⁷ Actually, given the environment in which Crescente was raised, that would not have been a surprise. His mother delegated his education on her brother, the priest Rafael Valentín Valdivieso, who would become the first Archbishop of Santiago in 1847 -at the young age of forty-two- and would ran the Archdiocese until his death in 1878. Therefore, Errázuriz had not only a very religious education, but he also learned about the functioning of the Archbishopric since his childhood. Errázuriz considered Valdivieso a second father: “He is whom I own the most. His interests, his teachings, were mine as well.”⁴⁸ He supported Valdivieso, and later succeeded him, in the battles with the government about the prerogatives of the state over the Church.

Errázuriz started attending private school for his elementary education, learning very well French. Then, following the path of his uncle, he entered in 1851 the Seminary of Santiago, earning high regard from his professors.⁴⁹ One of them, Joaquín Larraín Gandarillas said Errázuriz had an “outstanding intellectual capacity. His behavior has been always excellent; he is sensitive and smart, and his classmate appreciate him because he is good-natured with all of them.”⁵⁰ Although they drifted apart later due to several issues about how to face secularization and laicization, Errázuriz kept good

⁴⁷ José Rafael Reyes, “El Arzobispo Don Crescente Errázuriz. Sesquicentenario de su nacimiento,” *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* 157 (1989): 243.

⁴⁸ Armando Donoso, “Entrevista a Crescente Errázuriz,” *Bicentenario. Revista de Historia de Chile y América*, 2 (2003), 159, 165. Also, Errázuriz, *Algo de lo que he visto*, 99-102.

⁴⁹ One of his closest classmates was Manuel José Balmaceda, President of Chile between 1886 and 1891 and who committed suicide after losing the civil war. Errázuriz, as most of the Chilean elite, was against him, but kept good memories from his time at the Seminary. Donoso, “Entrevista a Crescente Errázuriz,” 165.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Fidel Araneda Bravo, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz y la evolución política y social de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Jurídica de Chile, 1956), 52.

memories of him.⁵¹ Of all the classes, he did very well in Latin and recognized that his future academic career owed very much to this study.⁵²

However, the young Errázuriz did not continued studying in the seminary to be a priest. Instead, he attended the University of Chile to pursue a law degree. He did not finish it either because he obtained an administrative job at the cooper foundry *Guayacán*, whose owner was José Tomás Urmeneta, father in law of his brother Maximiano.⁵³ During this job, Errázuriz escaped an assault -he was in charge of the money- and then, he would have decided to become a priest.⁵⁴

He returned to the seminary in 1861 and was ordained on December 18, 1863, his uncle appointed him immediately his secretary and director of *La Revista Católica*, the official journal of the Archdiocese of Santiago, founded twenty years before.⁵⁵ He held his post at *La Revista Católica* until the journal finished its first period in 1874. Yet, Errázuriz' work on Catholic press did not finish there. Valdivieso appointed him then at the newspaper *El Estandarte Católico*, the successor of the journal as the official publication of the Archdiocese.⁵⁶ In it, Errázuriz would held strong controversies with the Chilean government leaded by the President Federico Errázuriz Zañartu, his half-brother, that promoted the "Lay Laws" that eventually laicized birth, marriage, and death, when

⁵¹ Errázuriz, *Algo de lo que he visto*, 41-46.

⁵² Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 43. He might not have kept his kindness, as he would be known lately in his life as an irascible person, although this might have been due to the strong reactions his figure caused. I analyze further his personality.

⁵³ Reyes, "El Arzobispo Don Crescente Errázuriz," 244. Other scholars affirm that the owner of the mines was his brother Maximiano. Nibaldo Escalante Trigo, *Monseñor Crescente Errázuriz Valdivieso, 1818-1931* [sic]. Quinto Arzobispo de Santiago (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1981), 6. Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 54. The name of his brother from <http://www.genealog.cl/Chile/E/Errazuriz/#ErrazurizValdivieso,Crescente>.

⁵⁴ Reyes, "El Arzobispo Don Crescente Errázuriz," 244. Escalante, *Monseñor Crescente Errázuriz*, 7. There are no more references to this period of Errázuriz' life not related not the Church. He did not say anything about these years in his memoirs.

⁵⁵ Escalante, *Monseñor Crescente Errázuriz*, 8.

⁵⁶ Donoso, "Entrevista a Crescente Errázuriz," 167. A detailed account of the important role of Errázuriz within *La Revista Católica* and *El Estandarte Católico* in the next chapter of this dissertation.

were finally enacted in the 1880s. It was not an easy task for Errázuriz; he recalled in his memoirs that he always had “loving bonds” with his brother.⁵⁷

Right after being ordained as well, he began to teach at the seminary, where he taught Ethics, Natural Law, History of Philosophy, and Hermeneutics.⁵⁸ Between 1873 and 1883, Errázuriz also taught at the University of Chile in the Faculty of Theology the course “Canon Law.” There, he wrote and published a manual on the subject, consulted by the rest of the professors. In 1869, he attended the First Vatican Council accompanying his uncle Rafael as his secretary, and met Pope Pius IX twice, first with the group of the Chilean representatives, and then on a private audience. Since the Pope had spent some time in Peru and Chile in the 1820s,⁵⁹ he spoke to Errázuriz in Spanish and remembered nicely his time in the country. Errázuriz also visited Italy, France, England, and Spain, returning to Chile in 1870.

Along with his journalistic work, Errázuriz was also a distinguished historian; he declared that he owed his vocation to his uncle Rafael Valdivieso.⁶⁰ Errázuriz held controversies with the great Diego Barros Arana and Miguel Barros Amunátegui, Chilean representatives of positivism in historical research, a topic that underscored a liberal and secularizing point of view. Despite this, they cultivated a cordial, even friendly, relationship. They respected each other like scholars.⁶¹ The three were among the founders of the Chilean branch of the *Real Academia Española* in 1885.⁶² Indeed, it was Errázuriz who hid the great Chilean historian Barros Arana some time during the civil

⁵⁷ Errázuriz, *Algo de lo que he visto*, 251. Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 67.

⁵⁸ Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 62.

⁵⁹ The Vatican has sent him as assistant to the Apostolic Nuncio, Monsignor Giovanni Muzi.

⁶⁰ Donoso, “Entrevista a Crescente Errázuriz,” 167.

⁶¹ In his introduction to the interview to Errázuriz in 1915, Donoso refers that the priest remembered Amunátegui and Barros Arana with “fraternal fondness.” Donoso, “Entrevista a Crescente Errázuriz,” 157.

⁶² Reyes, “El Arzobispo Don Crescente Errázuriz,” 245.

war in 1891.⁶³ Barros Arana allowed him to copy documents for his research and shared some of his own notes with Errázuriz, for which he was deeply thankful.⁶⁴ Between 1873 and 1916, Errázuriz wrote the next books: *Orígenes de la Iglesia Chilena*, *Seis años de historia de Chile (1598-1695)*, *Historia de Chile durante los gobiernos de García Ramón, Merlo de la Fuente y Jaraquemada, Pedro de Valdivia, Chile sin Gobernador, García de Mendoza, Francisco de Villagra*, and *Pedro de Villagra*. As a recognition to his work, Errázuriz was designated one of the five founders of the “Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía” in 1912. In 1914, he was appointed director of the newly reestablished *Academia Chilena*, being reelected in 1920 and kept the post until his death in 1931.⁶⁵ In 1923, he finished the manuscript of his memories *Algo de lo que he visto*, and ordered to published them after his death.

In 1878, when his uncle Rafael died, despite some persons within the elite saw Errázuriz like the most probable successor of the Archbishop,⁶⁶ he quit his post at *El Estandarte Católico*. In his memories, he recalled that when the Archbishop passed away, “Everything should change for me, and, indeed, it did. [...]. I did not have with anybody the bonds that I had with him.”⁶⁷ Errázuriz retired to the small *Vera Cruz* Parish in downtown Santiago. There, despite its location, he had the peace and quiet to devote himself to his historical works.

On February of 1884, he left his parish and entered the cloister of the *Recoleta Dominica* Church -in *La Chimba* -a populous neighborhood-, adopting the name of Brother Raimundo. There, he spent the next twenty-four years of his life. But he was not in absolute retirement there. He continued writing, above all religious texts, and was

⁶³ Escalante, *Monseñor Crescente Errázuriz*, 12.

⁶⁴ Donoso, “Entrevista a Crescente Errázuriz,” 170.

⁶⁵ Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 236-238.

⁶⁶ Escalante, *Monseñor Crescente Errázuriz*, 9.

⁶⁷ Errázuriz, *Algo de lo que he visto*, 245, 246.

appointed, first, librarian, and later prior of the monastery in 1896, to much resistance of some of the brothers, according to some of his biographers.⁶⁸ He also kept the contact with the exterior, being the confessor of a considerable portion of the Chilean elite and advising President Balmaceda and the newly Archbishop Casanova in redacting the oath that the latter had to pronounce before the government.⁶⁹ Besides, during his time in the cloister, the Vatican offered him several posts in Rome and the Bishopric of Concepción but Errázuriz rejected all of them, feeling not worthy of any recognition.⁷⁰ In 1906, he contracted typhoid fever and although he recovered well, he lost some mobility on his legs, taking some time to recover in the mountains close to Santiago and then in the coast. During the worst moments of his illness, Errázuriz decided to quit as prior of the monastery.⁷¹

As the daily coexistence was not good inside the monastery, having Errázuriz an emotional breakdown even, he decided to leave definitely the monastery in 1908. He asked for his secularization, which was only granted in 1910.⁷² He moved back to the *Vera Cruz* parish, reassuming his historical research and writing, and the intellectual exchange with other writers. However, his ecclesiastical career took another and fast track by the middle of the 1910s. In 1916, the Vatican appointed him Senior Secretary of the Archbishopric in representation of the Pope. Two years later, Archbishop Juan Ignacio González passed away and the government decided to support Errázuriz'

⁶⁸ Reyes, "El Arzobispo Don Crescente Errázuriz," 245.

⁶⁹ Escalante, *Monseñor Crescente Errázuriz*, 12. Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 126-135.

⁷⁰ Reyes, "El Arzobispo Don Crescente Errázuriz," 247.

⁷¹ There is no agreement between his biographers about when he resigned. Reyes said that it was when he returned from his break due to his illness and Escalante affirms that it was before taking the break. Reyes, "El Arzobispo Don Crescente Errázuriz," 246. Escalante, *Monseñor Crescente Errázuriz*, 13. Araneda strongly assures that it was due to his health issues. The same Errázuriz said that it was before his break, version that I follow in the text. However, given the problems inside the monastery Errázuriz had with other priests, it is probably that his decision responded to these issues as well. Donoso, "Entrevista a Crescente Errázuriz," 169. Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 142-143.

⁷² Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 147.

candidature, although probably the Vatican would not approve him due to his age -he was almost eighty years old.⁷³ Errázuriz himself was not happy with the idea but he accepted the nomination to avoid problems with the government like when his uncle Rafael died.⁷⁴ Against all odds, the diligent diplomatic work of the Chilean Ambassador in the Vatican, Rafael Errázuriz, and his sister, Amelia Errázuriz, nephews of Errázuriz, convinced the Pope. Crescente Errázuriz became the fifth Archbishopric of Santiago in 1918 and was enthroned in January 1919.⁷⁵

Due to his age, Errázuriz' administration could have been a transition. Actually, Errázuriz was Archbishop for twelve years in which he would achieve and face very important changes for the Church. The main one was the separation from the State, which happened in 1925 after negotiations in the Vatican between Arturo Alessandri -while in his exile in Italy- and the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Pietro Gaspar. In their meeting, they agreed on a separation similar to the one in Brazil and entrusted Bishop Rafael Edwards with the composition of a draft for the final agreement.⁷⁶ Finally, the new Chilean Constitution that came into effect on September 18, 1925, included the separation. The Chilean Church did not lose its legal personality; the government paid a subsidy to the Church for the next five years after the separation; and from 1925, state approval of bishops was not a requirement.⁷⁷

⁷³ Araneda states that despite Arturo Alessandri would become President two years later, he also had some intervention in the government's decision supporting Errázuriz' nomination. *Ibid.*, 155.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁷⁵ Luis Eugenio Silva, "La elección del Arzobispo Crescente Errázuriz Valdivieso," *Anales de la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad Católica de Chile* 11 (1989).

⁷⁶ The draft in Juan Ignacio González, "El Estado de Chile ante la Iglesia Católica. ¿Existió un concordato en 1925? Una hipótesis con base en nuevos documentos," *Ius Publicum* 5 (2000): 55-57.

⁷⁷ Scholars have widely studied Church and state separation. Among the most important texts are: Carlos Oviedo, "La jerarquía eclesiástica y la separación de la Iglesia y el Estado en 1925," *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia* 89 (1975): 13-32; Carlos Oviedo Cavada, "Negociaciones chilenas sobre convenios con la Santa Sede," *Revista Finis Terrae*, 19 (1958): 37-53. Matías Tagle, "La separación de la Iglesia y el Estado en Chile. Historiografía y debate," *Historia* 30 (1997): 383-439; Juan Ignacio González, "El Estado de Chile ante la Iglesia Católica. ¿Existió un concordato en 1925? Una hipótesis con base en

Errázuriz did not want the separation. He even had issued a pastoral in 1923 affirming this position.⁷⁸ However, he had promised to Alessandri that if the Vatican decided the separation, he would obey, and this he did. Still, the public position of the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy was of sadness. Two days after the official separation, on September 20, all the Chilean bishops issued a pastoral regarding the new scenario. They lamented it and finished with these words: “The State separates from the Church; but the Church will not separate from the State and will stay ready to help it.”⁷⁹ The Archbishop had to deal with not only the separation itself but also with the administrative consequences of the new Church’s status. For instance, he ordered to build a house to take in retired priest who did not have family;⁸⁰ hired a dentist for the priests of the Archdiocese;⁸¹ reorganized the ecclesiastical finances after stopping receiving the money granted by the government;⁸² and issued a pastoral regarding the money the Church collected at masses in 1927.⁸³ Finally, he asked to the Vatican the creation of new dioceses in order to facilitate the administration of the Chilean Church. In 1925, there were seven new dioceses: San Felipe, Valparaíso, Rancagua, Talca, Linares, Chillán, and Temuco.⁸⁴

Other important characteristic of Errázuriz administration was the problem he faced trying to delimitate the participation of clergy in politics. Unlike during his time

nuevos documentos,” *Ius Publicum*, 5 (2000): 47-57; and Máximo Pacheco, *La separación de la Iglesia y el Estado en Chile y la diplomacia vaticana* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 2004). This last one reproduces forty-nine documents from the Historical Archive of the Vatican Secretary of State dated since 1920 until 1926.

⁷⁸ “Pastoral sobre la separación de la Iglesia y el Estado,” *LRC*, May 5, 1923, vol.44, 643-648.

⁷⁹ “Pastoral colectiva de los Obispos de Chile, sobre la separación de la Iglesia y el Estado,” *LRC*, October 3, 1925, vol.49, 491.

⁸⁰ “Una población para sacerdotes,” *LRC*, December 5, 1925, vol.49, 804-805.

⁸¹ “Gobierno eclesiástico,” *LRC*, October 3, 1925, vol.49, 560.

⁸² Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 233.

⁸³ “Pastoral colectiva que los prelados chilenos dirigen al pueblo católico sobre el dinero del culto,” *LRC*, April 2, 1927, vol.52, 353-356.

⁸⁴ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia en Chile*, 716.

directing Catholic press in the nineteenth century, Errázuriz worked now hard to separate religion from politics. He realized times had changed. On this, he found an ally in President Alessandri.⁸⁵ In 1922, Errázuriz issued a pastoral letter in which, after largely quoting passages of Vatican documents, he strongly instructed the clergy not to participate in any event related to politics. He forbade them not only to run for any congressional post but also to attend rallies. On election's day, they just had to go to vote and then return immediately to their houses. "The priest is not assistant of a political party; he, under the teachings of his Bishop, guide and director of the believers' conscience."⁸⁶

Errázuriz faced some practical problems on this when he denied authorization to Father Clovis Montero to accept a candidature offered by the Conservative party to run for representative.⁸⁷ He even faced some opposition inside the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Bishop Luis Silva Lezaeta and Monsignor Antonio Castro supported him. But Gilberto Fuenzalida -Bishop of Concepción- replied to Errázuriz' pastoral, and then the Archbishop replied in turn. The strong tone of the letters' exchange and the support that Fuenzalida had in the hierarchy and within the Conservative Party, made the problem ascend to the point that Errázuriz considered to resign. President Alessandri and the General Vicar Miguel Miller convinced him not to do it.⁸⁸ His position on Catholic's participation on politics was not only about the clergy but also the laity. In the first year within his administration, Errázuriz created the Catholic Social Action in the

⁸⁵ Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 207.

⁸⁶ Crescente Errázuriz, "Pastoral sobre la Iglesia y los partidos políticos," in Raúl Silva Castro (ed.), *Obras de Crescente Errázuriz. Obras Pastorales Escogidas* (Santiago: Edición Zig-Zag, 1936), 66. The Pastoral also in *LRC*, December 16, 1922, vol.43, 915-919.

⁸⁷ Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 210.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 211-212. When he was very sick in 1923, thinking that he would not recover it, Errázuriz asked President Alessandri, in case he died, to promote the candidature of the Vicar of Antofagasta, Luis Silva because he had been a big supporter of Errázuriz' campaign against clergy participation on politics. Yet, Silva died in 1929, two years before Errázuriz. Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 160.

Archdiocese, following the instructions from the papal Encyclicals. The new institution aimed to supervise all the Catholic social activities performed by laypeople but it was explicitly requested that they had to obey the Bishop in order to avoid that the activities could be used politically.⁸⁹

Errázuriz conducted reforms within the Church as well. The Vatican requested him to reorganize the Seminary of Santiago. He closed the lay section, where students could attend secondary education, but not studying for priests afterwards. Then, he appointed Father Julio Rafael Labbé principal of the Seminary and Father Juan Subercaseaux Errázuriz, his nephew, vice-principal. Labbé resigned few time later and Subercaseaux assumed the main post, who, following the directions of the new Code of Canon Law enacted in 1917, took restructuring measures: new regulations and new course of studies. With them, the Vatican gave the status of Pontifical to the Seminary.⁹⁰ Errázuriz also reorganized the Catholic University by appointing Father Carlos Casanueva president of the institution in 1921. For this, he had to dismiss the previous President Father Martín Rücker, with who Errázuriz had unpleasant arguments about the issue.⁹¹

His pastoral labor was intense as well. Errázuriz brought in the Archdiocese twelve new religious congregations between 1919 and 1930;⁹² created seventeen new parishes;⁹³ and did several pastoral visits within the diocese or sent his General Vicars.⁹⁴ However, due to his age, he could not fulfill all his responsibilities. He was then assisted by the General Vicar of the Archbishopric, Father Miguel Miller, who, for example, did

⁸⁹ I study Catholic Social Action with more detail in the third chapter.

⁹⁰ Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 231-232.

⁹¹ I discuss this event on the biography of Martín Rücker.

⁹² Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia en Chile*, 721.

⁹³ Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 232.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 233.

the *Ad Limina* visit to the Vatican on his representation in 1924 and 1929.⁹⁵ The Pope allowed him to give Mass being seated since he could not stand up.⁹⁶ On May 1931, Errázuriz got a cold that later complicated his lungs. There was general concern within the Church; even the Pope Pius XI sent his apostolic benediction.⁹⁷ On June 3, Father Miller ordered the clergy to pray for the Archbishop at masses. At the old age of ninety-one, Errázuriz passed away on June 5, 1931. At his funeral, Chopin's funeral march was played on the streets.⁹⁸

THE WORKERS ON THE WORKING CLASS

Martín Rücker

Martín Rücker Sotomayor was born on January 26, 1867 in Santiago. Due to the work of his father, who was a German trader in Valparaíso, the family moved to Valparaíso. He first attended the *Instituto Comercial Alemán* and later, the Saint Raphael Seminary, being ordained on December 20, 1890. From 1899 to 1906, Rücker was teacher at the Seminary of Geography, English, Religion, Logic, Metaphysics, Latin, Faith's Fundamental, and Dogmatic Theology. When Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre was appointed principal of the seminary, he and Rücker began a long and deep relationship framed by their common interest in the conditions of the poor.⁹⁹ Rücker also struck up a friendship with Ramón Ángel Jara, future Archbishop of La Serena and Ancud, and who was appointed for a while in Valparaíso. Both were concerned about Catholic social teaching as well. Furthermore, in the first of his six trips to Europe, in

⁹⁵ Escalante, *Monseñor Crescente Errázuriz*, 24. Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 166.

⁹⁶ Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 242.

⁹⁷ "El Illmo. Señor Errázuriz enfermo," *LRC*, June 6, 1931, vol.60, 707.

⁹⁸ Reyes, "El Arzobispo Don Crescente Errázuriz," 249.

⁹⁹ Rhode, *Mons. Juan Ignacio González Eyzaguirre*, 7.

1899, Rücker was appointed Jara's secretary at the Plenary Council of Latin America held in Rome.¹⁰⁰

In November 1906, he was appointed Apostolic Vicariate of Tarapacá, in northern Chile,¹⁰¹ where he was one of the most enthusiastic priests in the promotion of Catholic social teaching. Thinking that the best way to fight against socialism was by promoting Catholicism, Rücker founded in the region a mutual benefit association called *Orden Social de Tarapacá*, free schools, and the *Centro Cristiano de Iquique*. The first organization gave free instruction to men and held a *patronato* for children. By 1910, 180 students attended the school. The *Centro Cristiano de Iquique* was founded in 1907 for recreational opportunities and education for the working class. It had a library, a small theatre, and a chapel.¹⁰² Its creation was due to the donations of the community, secured after a meeting with Rücker who convinced them of the need of such an institution.¹⁰³

To face the need for religion in the Vicariate and above all in the mining zone, Rücker brought in two new religious orders: the Redemptorists arrived in 1908 and worked in Huara, a small village in the middle of the desert, and also in one of the poorest neighborhoods of Iquique. The same year, the Franciscan order arrived from Belgium. These two orders, plus the Salesians, who had previously been present, worked together addressing social issues.¹⁰⁴ However, the gaps in social services were impossible to cover, and the Catholic Church could not deal with the great number of families, whose parents were not married. Rücker gave several conferences to workers about the

¹⁰⁰ Robinson Cárdenas Medina, "Martín Rücker, Primer Obispo de Chillán," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 3 (1985): 48.

¹⁰¹ Tarapacá and Antofagasta (the other vicariate in the region), where incorporate to Chile after the Pacific War against Peru and Bolivia in the 1880s. I will refer in detail to the particularities of the society of the northern cities in chapter four.

¹⁰² Cárdenas, "Martín Rücker," 49-50.

¹⁰³ Marco Antonio León, "Martín Rücker Sotomayor y el Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá (1906-1919)," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 16 (1998):106.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 108.

Catholic social teaching.¹⁰⁵ However, the efforts were not sufficient, as León correctly asserts, because “the priests were a moral authority, but not an effective and permanent authority for workers.”¹⁰⁶

Rücker bore witness to one of the most violent repressions of workers’ movements: the Matanza de Santa María de Iquique. Even though Rücker was a mediator in the conflict as part of the “Good Men Commission,” he could do anything to stop the massacre.¹⁰⁷ His own memoirs about this event highlight the massacre: “I was an eyewitness to the carnage: the sailors with their guns and their rifles killed three hundred people.”¹⁰⁸ His work continued in the following days to help the wounded survivors of the massacre. However, Rücker blamed the strike both the workers’ poor living conditions, and the spread of communism in the region. The propaganda made by leftist groups “crystallized an intense hate that dominated the relationship between capital and work.”¹⁰⁹ However, the large volume of work affected his health and Rücker decided to quit in 1908. He started his second trip, visiting Europe, Asia, and Africa. Only after he returned to Chile, in 1911, he officially gave the Vicariate to his successor, José María Caro.

¹⁰⁵ *Homenaje a la memoria del Excmo. y Revdmo. Señor Obispo Dr. Martín Rücker Sotomayor. Primer Obispo de Chillán* (Chillán: Casa Editorial Librería Americana, 1935), 32.

¹⁰⁶ León, “Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá,” 109.

¹⁰⁷ The newspaper *La Nación*, in an article that commemorated the event forty-five years later, said that Rücker’s intervention was vital to stopping the massacre. It reported: “The Vicar Rücker ... picked up the corpse of the baby from the Bolivian women, went to Silva Renard (the general who ordered soldiers to shoot) with the baby in his arms, and opening the cassock rebuked him: if he had a thirst for Chilean blood, then he had his chest.” Devés, *Los que van a morir te saludan*, 198. However, historian Carlos Donoso’s recent research demonstrates that Rücker did not have a relevant role the day of the massacre. “Escuela Santa María: revisitando la matanza desde los documentos,” *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 22 (2009): 66-67.

¹⁰⁸ Martín Rücker, “Historia del movimiento obrero en Chile en nuestros últimos tiempos,” Originally in the Archive of Bishopric of Chillán, Manuscritos de Monseñor Rücker and quoted by Aliaga, *La Iglesia en Chile*, 51. The whole document is also reproduced by León, “Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá,” 118-127.

¹⁰⁹ Rücker, “Historia del movimiento obrero” in León, “Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá,” 112.

In 1910, Rücker was appointed General Vicar of Santiago where he continued his social work. He cooperated in the creation of workers' associations, worked hard to spread among workers the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, and published many articles in the press about Catholic social teaching. He also gave many lectures that were published in a three-volume book called *Conferencias Populares* between 1912 and 1915. Given that the Archbishop of Santiago, José Ignacio González, was very old and had problems fulfilling his duties, Rücker became one of his more active assistants. For example, he was the president of the *Centro Cristiano de Instrucción*, founded, as it has to be recalled, by Mariano Casanova. During this appointment, Rücker founded many schools within the diocese: in San Felipe (1910), Los Andes and Talca (1911), Curicó (1912), Quillota (1913), and Rancagua (1915).

As Vicar of Santiago, Rücker had to travel to Europe in 1911 and 1914. In his first visit, Rücker met with the priest Rutten, who founded the first Catholic trade unions in Belgium.¹¹⁰ This meeting was made possible thanks to an invitation sent by the Chilean Jesuit Jorge Fernández Pradel to Rücker.¹¹¹ The 1914 travel was due to the visit *Ad Limina* to Rome representing Archbishop González.

Rücker left the Vicariate in 1914 to become the President of the Catholic University. There, he founded the *Revista Universitaria*, the *Centro de Estudios Sociales*, the course of Social Economy (whose professor was Juan Enrique Concha) and the *Conferencias de San Vicente de Paul* that aimed to visit workers' schools, give lectures in workers' meetings and teach in night schools.¹¹² Rücker said, concerning these activities: "Convinced of the importance of these complementary institutions to the educational work of the University, I have tried every time I have been able, to reach them and leave

¹¹⁰ Aubert, *The Church in a Secularized Society*, 102.

¹¹¹ Cárdenas, "Martín Rücker," 54.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 55.

in the souls of students some useful knowledge.”¹¹³ He had to quit in 1921 due to his social ideas, which, according to some historians, were considered excessively progressive by some conservative people in the University. However, there is no consensus among historians. While Cardenas states that “Conservative forces oppose resistance against ideas of social change,”¹¹⁴ Krebs claims that it does not seem that Rücker wanted to make changes in the University; furthermore, he thinks that there was continuity in the work of all the Presidents of the university in that time. He continues by saying that, according to the sources, it seems to be more possible that the problem was a personal divergence between the Archbishop Crescente Errázuriz and Rücker, since both had strong personalities. Moreover, Rücker wished to have some independence from the Archbishop in his work in the University.¹¹⁵ A letter to the Archbishop sent by Rücker revealed in 1971 shows this. Rücker said to Errázuriz: “You condemn me without listening to me, you only have listen to people who are interested in set you against me.”¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Jaime Caiceo Escudero, “El Pensamiento Educativo-Social, en su vertiente católica en la primera mitad del siglo XX en Chile,” *Anuario de la Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 6 (1988): 116-117.

¹¹⁴ Aliaga, *La Iglesia en Chile*, 168 and Cárdenas, “Martín Rücker,” 55.

¹¹⁵ Ricardo Krebs, *Historia De La Pontificia Universidad Católica De Chile, 1888-1988* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica, 1994), 125. Also, Marco Antonio León León points out that during his time in Santiago, Rücker faced “conflicts, personal frictions and disagreements with the authorities.” León, “Vicariato Apostólico de Tarapacá,” 117.

¹¹⁶ Quoted by Cárdenas, “Martín Rücker,” 56. In the same page, he also quoted the words that Carlos Casanueva, successor of Rücker in the presidency of the Catholic University, told when Rücker died in 1935: “He was tried in severe circumstances of his life as an astute and shrewd politician would be tried, while he was a child by the ingenuity and evangelical simplicity of his soul; and hence he received accusations and charges that, although wrong at bottom, were unfair, and tore apart his soul until hurting him very deeply.” Araneda, in his biography of Errázuriz said something that I think it is about this episode, besides, he never mentioned Rücker in any part of the book: “To one of them [the clergy that did not agree with Errázuriz’ arrival to the Archbishopric], a very intelligent and respectable priest, [Errázuriz] took out from a high post and some time later, convinced of his talent and virtue, gave him another bigger post [Chillán Bishopric in 1926 perhaps] that held until some time ago, and in which he did very good to the Church and to the country; but this prelate has been one of the biggest and severe judges of Mr. Errázuriz.” Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 159-160. Errázuriz died in 1931, while Rücker was Bishop of Chillán, 250 miles to the south of Santiago. However, he did not attend Errázuriz funeral, as others Bishops from more distant cities than Chillán did. “Enfermedad, muerte y funerales del Rv. Sr. D. Crescente Errázuriz Valdivieso, 5to Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile,” *LRC*, June 20, 1931, vol.60, 732.

This problem affected Rücker profoundly and decided to travel again to Europe. This time it was for a long period. He left Chile in February 1920 and returned almost four years later, January 1924. He spent one year and a half in Spain, four months in Germany, one month in Belgium, three months in England, six months in Italy, and even some time in Egypt and Holy Land.¹¹⁷ The travel also was possible because of the several languages Rücker spoke.¹¹⁸ Rücker said his aim was to study educational institutions in Europe,¹¹⁹ but he also spent a great deal of time studying European Catholic social teaching and the works of Catholic priests about the Social Question. In Navarra, for example, he visited a priest who was forming labor unions and cooperatives for workers.¹²⁰ Rücker held many conferences in front of a diverse public, but mainly he talks to workers. Fernando Márquez de la Plata said that “in the workers’ centers his ideas were strong praised. The whole Spain began to know him.”¹²¹

In April of 1923, Rücker was appointed Bishop of Mariamés (not in charge of diocese), and Ecclesiastic Governor of Chillán (a city in southern Chile) as well, which represented a practical appointment. The ceremony of his consecration as Bishop was at the Burgos Cathedral, Spain. In Chillán, Rücker continued working towards his main interest: the situation of the workers. In 1925, for example, he created the *Escuela San Vicente* for teaching carpentry and shoemaking. Seeing that the division of the land was a significant problem in the region and that Social Question did not have to do only with urban workers but also with countryside workers, Rücker was hard regarding the

¹¹⁷ Cárdenas, “Martín Rücker,” 57.

¹¹⁸ English, Italian, French, German.

¹¹⁹ Cárdenas, “Martín Rücker,” 57.

¹²⁰ *Homenaje*, 80.

¹²¹ Fernando Márquez de la Plata, “Homenaje al Arzobispo [sic] Martín Rücker Sotomayor,” *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia* 5 (1935): 212-215.

establishment of agricultural labor unions by writing studies about the best way to do it.¹²²

In 1926, Chillán was designated Bishopric and Rücker was appointed its first Bishop. In his first pastoral, he outlined his goals: protection of family and youth, and “we will be in charge about the Social Question in particular.”¹²³ As the overseer of a new Bishopric, Rücker had to do a great deal of administrative work to organize the diocese. He founded more parishes; organized the finances of the Bishopric; and created a new section of the Seminary in the city. In order to spread Catholicism, he visited the diocese four times during the eleven years that he was in charge of the Archbishopric - staying at least three days in every parish; he organized Eucharistic congresses in almost all the parishes of the diocese; and wrote twenty-seven pastorals about diverse topics and many articles in the newspapers of Chillán.¹²⁴

Concerning social labor, for example, he pushed for state subsidization for Catholic social labor such as the *Casa de Huérfanos*. He also founded a nursing home for girls,¹²⁵ and several workers’ centers. The financial situation of these initiatives became more urgent in 1925 when the Church and the State were separated and the Church stopped receiving money from the government. Furthermore, as new Bishopric as Chillan was, it did not have savings to afford these expenditures.¹²⁶ Nonetheless, Rücker made enormous efforts to carry out his purposes of helping the poor. Rücker kept in touch with

¹²² Marco Antonio León León, “Martín Rücker Sotomayor y la problemática social en la Gobernación Eclesiástica y el Obispado de Chillán (1924-1935) Primera Parte,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 20 (2002): 143.

¹²³ Cárdenas, “Martín Rücker,” 61.

¹²⁴ Cárdenas, 63-64 and Rücker, Chillán 1, 138.

¹²⁵ Márquez de la Plata, “Homenaje,” 210.

¹²⁶ León, “Obispado de Chillán, Primera Parte,” 149. About the financial problems of the Archbishopric, see also *Homenaje*, 221.

the Jesuits of the Seminar settled in Chillán and worked in many activities concerning social action with them.¹²⁷ In his posthumous homage, a Jesuit recalled this anecdote:

Once, Rücker called to the school asking for some brothers of the Society because he wanted to go to visit prisoners in the jail of Chillán... He went into a cigarette store and bought some packets for them... That was the charitable heart of our Monsignor! But he was not satisfied with that. In the jail, he gave out clothes for the prisoners, having for every each of them a warm and strong handshake and some kind words. He told them about his last visit to the Pope, he talked to them about him, the Church and Jesus.¹²⁸

Rücker was very about the understanding of the social problems as a topic that affected the whole society. In 1927, in his pastoral “Social Problems,” he identified four causes of the crisis he saw: the material need that the people had; the crisis in the human conscience in people that explained why the rich did not have any interest in assisting the poor; the inclination toward luxury, pleasures, and wasting of money; and the widespread manner of entertainment, such as the theater and cinema.¹²⁹ His main act in the realm of Social Catholicism was the foundation of the Catholic Action in Chillán in 1934, being the first section founded in Chile. He defined it as “the organization of the Catholic forces, according to the wish of the Church in order she (the Church) carries out in the earth the mission that God ordered her in the world.”¹³⁰

Rücker kept working hard, even though he also continued facing serious financial problems for his activities.¹³¹ When he was conducting the mass that closed the

¹²⁷ Cárdenas, “Martín Rücker,” 62.

¹²⁸ *Homenage*, 161.

¹²⁹ León, “Obispado de Chillán, Primera Parte,” 150.

¹³⁰ Quoted by Marco Antonio León León, “Martín Rücker Sotomayor y la problemática social en la Gobernación Eclesiástica y el Obispado de Chillán (1924-1935) Segunda Parte,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 21 (2003), 181. Originally in “Diócesis de Chillán. Pastoral que el Illmo. Sr. Dr. Don Martín Rücker Sotomayor, Obispo de Chillán, dirige al clero y fieles sobre Organización de la Acción Católica,” *LRC*, October 20, 1928, vol.55, 753.

¹³¹ Rafael Edwards, General Advisor of the Catholic Action, in the tribute to Rücker after his death, said “He did not find necessary cooperation to carry out his social works because of the scarce support from many landowner (hacendados) who skimped the religious tax. All his projects were limited... he was powerless for helping to his loved workers.” In *Homenage*, 96.

Eucharistic Congress of 1934 on Christmas Day, Rücker got bronchopneumonia because the chapel where he celebrated the mass was unfinished and did not have ceiling yet. He was hospitalized and passed away on January 6, 1935. Many people went to his funeral, in particular from workers' organizations. Attendance of members of the *Liga del Trabajo*, for example, was compulsory.¹³² Twenty-eight notes of condolences were sent from the most diverse people and countries.¹³³ To honor his memory, a few months later a three hundred pages' book with testimonials and remembrances of him was published.¹³⁴

José María Caro

The life of José María Caro stands out for being an exception within the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy. Normally its members came from the Chilean elite, but Caro's social origins are very humble. Despite this, he was the first Chilean priest to achieve the highest post within the Catholic Church when he was appointed Cardinal. Nevertheless, being an outsider never was an obstacle for his career. Once his superiors knew about his capabilities, Caro only performed tasks within the hierarchy.

He was born in June 1866, in the province of Colchagua, in the Chilean countryside, then a ten-hour journey south of Santiago (three hours today). His father was administrator of a farm, in charge of all the whole operation, as most landowners of Chilean *haciendas* lived in Santiago and visit their land only for the summer harvest. Given the long distance from a school, when Caro was five years old, he moved to live with his paternal grandparents in order to attend rural school.¹³⁵ He attracted attention for his commitment to study and his devotion to religion. Thus, his grandfather talked to the

¹³² *Homenage*, 143.

¹³³ For example, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, Spain, from the Palestine Colony and from the prisoners' of Chillán's jail. *Homenage*, 260-261 and 277-284.

¹³⁴ *Homenage*.

¹³⁵ Incidentally, the school still exists today and the students support a small museum dedicated to Caro.

priests of the local parish who had connections in the Seminary of Santiago, getting him accepted there with a fellowship, although he was placed in the section called “San Pedro Damiano,” for working-class students. This separation, as Caro recalled in his autobiography, caused some disagreements with the wealthier students from the other section: the elite pupils “looked down on us,” he wrote.¹³⁶ Consequently, it was not expected that Caro could hope to have a career within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. However, he again attracted attention because of his good scholastic performance and, he was chosen as one of two students sent to finish their theological studies at the Colegio Pio Latinoamericano in Rome. On November 12, 1887, José María Caro and Gilberto Fuenzalida -the other student from the regular section of the Seminary- arrived to the school in Rome.¹³⁷ Although a serious health condition that affected his lungs limited his studies while in Rome, causing Caro to miss many classes and making him fear that he could not finish his studies, he obtained his orders there in 1890 and obtained a doctoral degree in Theology at the Pontifical Gregorian University in 1891.

Caro returned to Chile at the end of 1891, and the following year he started to teach at the Seminary being admired by his students for his doctoral degree from Rome. He was in charge of teaching Dogmatic Theology, Greek, Hebrew, Grammar, and Philosophy. He also collaborated on the *Centro de la Buena Prensa* (Center of the Good Press) of the Church, and attended three chaplaincies. However, as his respiratory problems persisted, in 1899 Caro was appointed as parish priest in Mamiña, a small

¹³⁶ Guillermo Mönckeberg Balmaceda, *Monseñor José María Caro Rodríguez, 1939-1958: séptimo arzobispo de Santiago* (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1984), 16-17.

¹³⁷ *Seminario de Santiago*, 192. Gilberto Fuenzalida would have a prominent career as well. He soon would become director of the Seminary and, in 1918, was appointed Bishop of Concepción. As seen in the biography of Crescente Errázuriz, he was one of the most conservative within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Despite this, Caro and he remained friends and when Fuenzalida passed away in 1938, Caro flew from La Serena to Concepción to attend his funeral, being this the first time Caro took a plane although he was very reluctant and afraid previously.

village in the north of Chile, an area known for the pureness of its air. He spent there just one year as he did not see any improvement in his health condition and returned to Santiago. In the capital, he resumed his job at the Seminary and was also appointed columnist in *La Revista Católica*.

Caro's career took off in 1911, when he was appointed Vicar of Tarapacá, succeeding Martin Rücker. One year later, he was appointed Bishop of Milas (not in charge of a diocese), designation that was highly applauded within the Chilean Church. *La Revista Católica*, for example, extensively covered the different celebrations honoring the new Bishop.¹³⁸ No other priest received that level of attention in the period (until 1931, at least). This shows how much the ecclesiastical hierarchy was open to outsiders if they were talented.

His qualifications, though, were not a guarantee of success. The very secularized political authorities of the city of Iquique (the capitol of the province of Tarapacá) and the politicization of most of mines nitrate's workers due to the influence of socialism, did not make for a friendliest climate for the priest. For example, Caro's arrival to the city in January 1912 was totally ignored by the press and none political authorities came to the port of Iquique to welcome him. Despite this (or because of this, actually), Caro made a strong effort to spread Catholicism and fight against socialist and anarchist organizations: he founded two weekly newspapers, *La Luz* (1912) and *Cuestiones Sociales* (1921); founded several Catholic workers' associations; organized conferences about social and

¹³⁸ For example, after a note on the consecration and the lunch offered for the new Bishops José María Caro and Luis Silva Lezaeta in the Archbishopric, *La Revista Católica* inserted a long piece with the celebrations at the Seminary of Santiago, a poem in Caro's honor, and the speech of the principal of the Seminary, Gilberto Fuenzalida. "En el Seminario," *LRC* May 4, 1912, vol.22, 745-749. Also: "Fiestas en honor del Illmo. señor Caro en la ciudad de Talca" (1912, May 18, vol.22, 828-829), "Violetas. Al Ilustrísimo Sr. Obispo de Milas, Dr. D. José María Caro R. con motivo de su consagración Episcopal" (1912, May 18, vol.22, 829-832), "Banquete ofrecido al Illmo. Señor José María Caro, por sus ex-alumnos del Seminario" (1912, May 18, vol.22, 833-836), and "Desde Iquique. Fiestas en honor del Illmo. Obispo de Milas, señor Caro" (1912, June 15, vol.22, 996-998).

political issues; and did many good works for the working class when the economic crisis -due to the First World War-, affected the main economic resource of the region, the nitrate.

He stayed there until 1925, when he was appointed Bishop of La Serena, a city also north of Santiago but much closer to the capital. There, Caro also had to deal with anticlerical groups that were as aggressive as the ones in Iquique. In fact, the fire that affected the Bishopric and his house in 1936 might have been provoked by some extremist members of the Radical party, a leftist political party, although no one was held responsible according to the official investigation. Despite he lost all his belongings, including his valuable library, he was optimistic and said “I am very happy. I am truly poor now.”¹³⁹

In 1939, Caro was appointed Archbishop of Santiago, reaching the highest post a Chilean priest had held within the Church hierarchy. But he ascended a step further, when the Vatican appointed him Cardinal in 1945. As the head of the Chilean Catholic Church, Caro was in charge of the dialogue with the government. Most of his administration overlapped with Presidents from the Radical party, whose one of the most remarkable aspect was its strong anticlerical position. Caro knew this well. Iquique and La Serena had been a good training in dealing with anticlerical groups. The government, for its part, adopted a much less confrontational attitude towards the Catholic Church, resulting in a cordial relationship, for the most part.

In addition, Caro continued his commitment to spread Catholicism among the Chilean population. For example, he founded sixty-seven new parishes in Santiago (totalizing 142) and constructed a new building for the Seminary. He devoted a great deal of his work to the promotion of the construction of the “Templo Votivo de Maipú”

¹³⁹ Mönckeberg, 47.

(Votive Temple of Maipú), which was dedicated to the “Virgin of Carmen” and commemorated the “Maipú’s Battle” of 1818, when Chilean independence from Spain was secured. The building represented the union between Catholicism and the nation. It was also an ultimate effort of showing that secularization had not damaged Catholicism. Despite his weak health at the beginning of his career, Caro died at the age of ninety-two, in 1958.¹⁴⁰ Thousands attended his funeral and the Chilean Congress ordered, in a unanimous vote, three days of mourning in the entire country.¹⁴¹

Rafael Edwards

Catholic Social Action, the military, Easter Island, the Chilean desert, the Church and state separation. What do all these different things have in common? Rafael Edwards was one of the most versatile priests within the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy. He was born on January 6, 1878 in Santiago. His parents were Eduardo Edwards Garriga and Javiera Salas Errázuriz (whose grandfather was brother of Crescente Errázuriz’ father). He attended the Jesuit *San Ignacio School*, and then he studied at the Seminary of Santiago. He started at the secular section but when he felt his religious call, went into the ecclesiastical one.¹⁴² Edwards was part of the second group of Chilean students sent to the Pio Latino Americano College -after José María Caro and Gilberto Fuenzalida. He attended the Gregorian University as well, where he obtained his Doctorate in Philosophy. He was ordained on February 23, 1901 in Rome. Back in Chile, he was taught Philosophy and Dogmatic Theology at the Seminary of Santiago; his students recalled he gave his lectures in Latin with his eyes closed.¹⁴³ He also taught those courses

¹⁴⁰ He claimed that he was cured from his illness and attributed his longevity because of vegetarianism. Joaquín Fuenzalida Morandé (ed.), *El cardenal Caro: autobiografía del eminentísimo y reverendísimo, señor Cardenal D. José María Caro Rodríguez, Primer Cardenal Chile: apuntes y recuerdos* (Santiago, Chile: Arzobispado de Santiago, 1968), 40.

¹⁴¹ Mönckeberg, 62.

¹⁴² Rafael Lira, “Oración fúnebre,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August 1938, 207.

¹⁴³ *Seminario de Santiago*, 450.

at the *Instituto de Humanidades*. As it was common within the Church, Edwards mastered several languages, and he used this skill particularly to translate several works.¹⁴⁴

As his third-level cousin, Crescente Errázuriz, Edwards worked also on Catholic press. While studying in Rome, Edwards sent texts from Europe to the newspaper *El Chileno*, most of time about social issues, which appeared under the pseudonym R. Stuardetti.¹⁴⁵ He also wrote some editorials of *El Diario Popular* (1902-1909).¹⁴⁶ Edwards' main journalistic work was as director of the Catholic newspaper *El Porvenir* between 1901 and 1906, while he was still in his twenties. Between 1905 and 1913, Edwards was the parish priest of *La Estampa*, in *La Chimba* neighborhood, in the north of Santiago. There, he worked hard when the smallpox epidemic in 1905; he was the confessor of the isolation hospital.¹⁴⁷ During these years, although it is unknown exactly when, Edwards had posts at the Catholic University as well. He was the General Prefect and the director of the University Residence Hall.¹⁴⁸

In 1910, Edwards career accelerated. That year, the Vatican created the Military Vicariate in Chile at the request of the Chilean government. In May 27, Edwards was nominated the first Vicar, holding this post until his death in 1938. On April 21, 1915, he was appointed Bishop of Dodona (not in charge of diocese) and was consecrated on

¹⁴⁴ From Italian: Giuseppe Toniolo, *La verdadera democracia: noción de la democracia Cristiana* (Santiago: Impr. de Emilio Pérez, 1898), *El Alcoholismo según los últimos estudios: artículos publicados en el "Civiltá Cattolica" y traducidos por el Señor Dr. D. Rafael Edwards* (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1915); from English: Catecismo Social (Santiago: Imp. de San José, 1921); from French: *Vida íntima y muerte admirable de Arturo de la Taille, novicio de la Compañía de Jesús* (Santiago: Splendor, 1933).

¹⁴⁵ Carlos Silva Vildósola, "El Obispo Edwards," *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August, 1938, 238.

¹⁴⁶ Raúl Silva Castro, *Prensa y Periodismo en Chile (1812-1956)* (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1958), 374.

¹⁴⁷ Raymundo Arancibia Salcedo, *Diccionario biográfico del clero secular chileno, 1918-1969* (Santiago: Editorial Neupert, 1969), 68.

¹⁴⁸ *Revista Universitaria* 2, October 1, 1915, 161.

October 31. He was also designated Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago on June 22, 1921. However, this ended up being a nominal post because the Archbishop Crescente Errázuriz and Edwards did not get along well, having both strong characters.¹⁴⁹ Thus, Edwards never intervened, at least explicitly, in the government of the Archdiocese.¹⁵⁰ In 1934, the Pope Pius XI appointed him “attende to the Pontifical Throne.” Apart from ecclesiastical recognition, Edwards also received distinctions outside the Church. He was corresponding member of the Academy of Philosophy at the Catholic University,¹⁵¹ the *Real Academia de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de Madrid*, Commander of the Crown of Italy, and Official of the Legion of Honor.¹⁵²

He performed specially his work as Military Vicar in two important places for Chile: Eastern Island, and in the north of Chile, in the cities of Tacna and Arica. He went twice to the island in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, visiting the leper colony and doing missionary work among the natives.¹⁵³ He also wrote two brief works about the island.¹⁵⁴ Between 1925 and 1926, he went over the small villages around Tacna, on horseback, promoting the plebiscite that had to define the final countries for Arica and Tacna, which were under Chilean administration after the War of the Pacific in the 1880s. Although in reality, he was trying to convince Tacna’s population to vote for staying in Chile. This

¹⁴⁹ Araneda affirms that Edwards had to “struggle against his own irritable temperament; every time he felt he did not kept charity, he humbly apologized.” Fidel Araneda, “El Obispo Rafael Edwards,” *LRC* 1080, October-December, 1988, 354.

¹⁵⁰ Fidel Araneda, “El Obispo Rafael Edwards,” *LRC*, October-December, 1988, num. 1080, 354. Rafael Lira states that like Auxiliary Bishops, Edwards would have visited some of the most distant parishes of the Archdiocese. Rafael Lira, “Oración fúnebre,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August, 1938, 208.

¹⁵¹ Bernardino Abarzúa, “Oración fúnebre,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August, 1938, 212.

¹⁵² Arancibia, *Diccionario biográfico*, 69.

¹⁵³ J. T. Ramírez, “Monseñor Rafael Edwards,” *LRC*, August 1938, num. 848, 362. J. T. Ramírez, *Homenaje a Monseñor Rafael Edwards S. Vicario General Castrense* (Santiago: Esc. Tip. “La Gratitude Nacional,” 1941), 9. I own the discovery of Ramirez’ 1941 text to Manuel Salas.

¹⁵⁴ *La Isla de Pascua; consideraciones expuestas acerca de ella* (Santiago: Imp. de San José, 1918) and *El Apóstol de la Isla de Pascua José Eugenio Eyraud, hermano de la Congregación de los Sagrados Corazones* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1918).

made him deserve the public gratitude of President Arturo Alessandri.¹⁵⁵ He also wrote several articles in newspapers on this.¹⁵⁶ He promoted the coronation of Our Lady of Mount Carmel like patron of Chile -she was already patron on the Chilean military-, celebrating this on a large Mass at the “Cousiño Park” in 1926.¹⁵⁷ He was a strong promoter of the construction of the *Templo Votivo de Maipú* in her honor. But he did not only work on this elite level, he also visited soldiers constantly at quarters and infirmaries in the whole country.¹⁵⁸

One of his most important services to the country was his advising on the negotiations for the Church and State separation in 1925. Edwards wrote the draft of the agreement between the Vatican and the Chilean government since he was the connection between the Nunciature, the Chilean Church, and the Conservative Party.¹⁵⁹ He was also friend of Alessandri, the president that carried out the separation; it was he who requested Edwards to write the draft due to their friendship. This text not only contained the clauses included in the new Constitution in 1925, but also the project of a concordat that was going to be sign between the Church and the State. However, the initiative did not succeed due to the political turmoil that started right after the proclamation of the new Constitution, which lasted until 1932.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ The plebiscite did not have place and the decision was taking finally in 1929 after negotiations between both Peruvian and Chilean governments. Arica was for Chile and Tacna for Peru. Fidel Araneda, “El Obispo Rafael Edwards,” *LRC*, October-December, 1988, num. 1080, 354; Ramírez, *Homenaje a Monseñor Rafael Edwards*, 4-5.

¹⁵⁶ Araneda, “El Obispo Rafael Edwards,” 354. Rafael Edwards, *Las relaciones entre Chile y el Perú: carta que el Illmo. señor Obispo Auxiliar de Santiago le escribe al Excmo. señor Sebastián Leite de Vasconcello, Arzobispo de Damieta* (Santiago: Impr y Lito. La Ilustración, 1923). It was published also in French and English.

¹⁵⁷ Araneda, “El Obispo Rafael Edwards,” 354.

¹⁵⁸ Ramírez, *Homenaje a Monseñor Rafael Edwards*, 5.

¹⁵⁹ Gonzalo Vial, *Historia de Chile (1891-1973)*, vol. III, “Arturo Alessandri y los golpes militares (1920-1925)” (Santiago: Editorial Santillana, 1987), 547.

¹⁶⁰ González, “El Estado de Chile ante la Iglesia Católica,” 52-53.

Notwithstanding his many endeavors, Edwards is best remembered for his work on social action. He was a strong promoter of the social encyclicals, publishing with his own money editions of the *Rerum Novarum*, and *Quadragesimo Anno* to sell them cheaper or gave them for free.¹⁶¹ He was one of the vice-directors of the *Sociedad de Obreros de San José*, member of the Central Committee of the Chilean branch of the Red Cross since 1922 until his death.¹⁶² He also founded the *Liga del Trabajo*, the *Liga Nacional contra el Alcoholismo*, the *Liga Chilena de Higiene Social*, the *Federación Chilena del Trabajo*, and the *Confederación de Sindicatos Blancos*. His role on the foundation of the *Juventud Católica Femenina* in 1921, and the *Cruzada Eucarística para los niños* was particularly prominent.¹⁶³ He had a distinguished participation at the *First National Eucharistic Congress* in 1904, presenting a paper about Christian Democracy. Later, he was president of all the next National Eucharistic Congresses celebrated between 1922 and 1938 (Concepción, La Serena, Santiago, Valdivia, and Iquique). He was constantly giving lectures on social issues,¹⁶⁴ and published several articles in *La Revista Católica* in the section “Social Action.” In 1909, he began to teach the class “Sociology” at the Seminary upon request of the Archbishop González. But his most important post was in the Catholic Action. In 1919, Archbishop Errázuriz appointed him director of the “Comisión Directora de la Acción Social,” the first organization of

¹⁶¹ Ramírez, “Monseñor Rafael Edwards,” 361. Rafael Lira, “Oración fúnebre,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August, 1938, 208.

¹⁶² Javier Martín, “Discurso del Almirante Martín en los funerales de Monseñor Edwards,” *LRC*, August 1938, num. 848, 416.

¹⁶³ Andrea Isolina Robles Parada, *La Liga de Damas Chilenas: De la cruzada moralizadora al sindicalismo femenino católico, 1912-1918*, MA Thesis, University of Chile, 2013. Jorge Rojas Flores, *Moral y prácticas cívicas en los niños chilenos, 1880-1950* (Santiago: Ariadna Ediciones, 2004), 170-182.

¹⁶⁴ For example, in 1913, he gave in Iquique a lecture about the “miraculous vision of the Cross in the Sky by Constantine.” *La Luz*, November 9, 1913, num. 54, 4. In 1930, he presented “La mujer en la Acción Católica,” at the newly founded Catholic University of Valparaíso. Rodolfo Urbina and Raúl Buono-Core, *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Desde su fundación hasta la reforma, 1928-1973. Un espíritu, una identidad* (Valparaíso: Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, 2004), vol. 1, 100.

Catholic social works that in the title had the word “action” as used by the Vatican. Edwards kept the post in the several following restructurations of the Social Action in Chile in 1923 and 1931. This last year, the Catholic Social Action had its definitive institutional organization, and Edwards, as the director and general advisor of the “Catholic Action of Chile,” wrote the new regulations, organized the first councils, collected funding, and created the official publication, the *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*.¹⁶⁵

Suffering heart problems for at least nine years¹⁶⁶ -for which his activities had decreased a little bit-, his health began to decline in 1938. On April, doctors had ordered him to rest but he decided to give mass on April 5 at the under-construction *Templo Votivo de Maipú* to commemorate one of the most important battles of Chilean independence.¹⁶⁷ He even attended the International Eucharistic Congress in Budapest, Hungary, during the boreal summer. While in Europe, Edwards’ condition worsened to the point that some thought he could die there.¹⁶⁸ Edwards died on board of the ship *Orbita* on his way back to Chile on August 5, 1938. His mortal remains arrived to Chile on August 15, being buried on August 17, at the basilica *El Salvador*, next to the altar of the Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The Pope Pius XI sent his condolence.¹⁶⁹ A group of priests and laymen started a campaign to erect a monument in his honor.¹⁷⁰ Doing an

¹⁶⁵ “S. E. Monseñor Rafael Edwards,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August 1938, 203.

¹⁶⁶ Juan Francisco Fresno, “Monseñor Edwards. Gran Asesor de la Acción Católica,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August, 1938, 205.

¹⁶⁷ Teresa Ossandón, “Mons. Rafael Edwards y a A. J. C. F.,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August 1938, 233.

¹⁶⁸ Manuel Menchaca, “Últimos días con Mons. Edwards,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August 1938, 235.

¹⁶⁹ Javier Martín, “Discurso del Almirante Martín en los funerales de Monseñor Edwards,” *LRC*, August 1938, vol.74, 416. Teresa Ossandón, “Funerales del Excmo. Sr. Obispo Don Rafael Edwards Salas,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August 1938, 237.

¹⁷⁰ “Para perpetuar la memoria de Mons. Edwards,” *Boletín de la Acción Católica de Chile*, August, 1938, 253-254.

excellent summary of Edwards' multifaceted work, Father Julio Tadeo Ramírez remembered him in *La Revista Católica* saying: "his diverse personality covered everything with ability, and in everything he left a fertile seed."¹⁷¹

Fernando Vives

Fernando Vives Solar was born in Santiago on March 24, 1871. He had a very late entry into the religious vocation since he attended the Instituto Nacional for secondary school. He attended law school at the University of Chile but when the Catholic University was founded in 1888, he continued his studies in the latter. However, he did not become a lawyer. He left the university and worked for a while in the countryside.¹⁷² In 1896, Vives entered the Santiago Seminary to become a priest. One year later, he went to Córdoba, Argentina, to begin his studies with the Society of Jesus. He was ordained a priest in 1908 in Spain and made his vows, aiming to serve poor people. Before he returned to Chile in 1909, Vives visited some Catholic-Worker organizations in Italy, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Spain. With these experiences, Vives returned to Chile with the aim of applying what he had learned in Europe.¹⁷³

Conservatives, however, accused Vives of being a communist and demagogue.¹⁷⁴ The pressure from conservatives finally led the Jesuits to exile Vives, who had to leave Chile between 1912 and 1914.¹⁷⁵ He was transferred to Córdoba, Argentina. When Vives

¹⁷¹ J. T. Ramírez, "Monseñor Rafael Edwards," *LRC*, August 1938, vol.74, 360.

¹⁷² There is not more information about this activity. See Rafael Sagredo, ed., *Escritos Del Padre Fernando Vives Solar* (Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 1993), 13 and Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 665.

¹⁷³ Trinidad Zaldívar, "Fernando Vives Solar, S. J." In http://www.uc.cl/facteo/centromanuellarrain/htm/zaldivar_fernando.htm (accessed October 18, 2010)

¹⁷⁴ The original in Spanish is "politiquero."

¹⁷⁵ Zaldívar refers an anecdote about when Vives left Chile that reflects the estimation that his students felt for him. They went to the train station the day he had to left and stand in front of the train making this stopped. They registered all the wagons, but Vives was not there. Thinking that his students would do something like that, he had not departed from the train station. Then, the students came back to the Saint Ignacio School and shouting "May the Principal dies!" threw to the walls some small flasks with a red colorant inside. Zaldívar, "Fernando Vives Solar, S. J."

returned to Chile, in 1915, he continued with his commitment to workers by serving as Director of the *Academia de Sociología* of the *Colegio San Ignacio* and founding study groups to discuss Catholic social teaching with some students from school. Also, several labor unions were created thanks to his support.¹⁷⁶ Once again, the most conservative sectors of Chilean society disagreed with him and Vives had to leave Chile. Although originally it was for only one year, Vives was gone for almost fourteen years. He lived in Europe between 1918 and 1931, and there he took the opportunity to learn more about Catholic Social Action in Belgium, France, and Spain.

Finally, Vives returned to Chile in 1931. The Archbishop of Santiago, José Horacio Campillo Infante, appointed Vives as Director of the *Secretariado Económico Social de la Acción Católica*, and he was one of the most important advisors of the *Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos*.¹⁷⁷ He also founded and directed two organizations: The *Liga de Acción Sacerdotal* (for the clergy) and the *Liga Social* (for the leaderships of social institutions). Both organizations aimed to give instruction about social issues.¹⁷⁸ Despite this work, the conservative sector succeeded in removing Vives again from the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Conservative Party blamed Vives for distancing young Catholics from the party. A new exile seemed imminent, but before the

¹⁷⁶ Drivers, nurses, rail workers, needlewomen and stores' employees. Zaldívar, "Fernando Vives Solar, S. J."

¹⁷⁷ Fernando Aliaga Rojas, "El pensamiento de los jóvenes fundadores de la Acción Católica Chilena," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 3 (1985), 14.

¹⁷⁸ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 666. The Liga was also one of Vives' most polemic actions. In 1933, the Chilean prelate decided that all the youth who were part of the ANEC and the Liga had to be members of the Conservative Party. Although Vives did not give his opinion in public, everyone knew that he thought the Social Question did not have to be mixed with politics. Finally, the struggle reached the Vatican. In 1934, a letter from Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli arrived to the Archbishopric of Santiago. It said that Catholics could participate in any political party as long as the organization gave guarantees to the Church. In other words, The Conservative Party was set apart from the Church. There is a version that held that the letter from Cardinal Pacelli responded to another letter sent to Rome from a group of members of the Liga who did not want to be member of the Conservative Party. Jaime Eyzaguirre would have written the letter in Vives' office.

ecclesiastical hierarchy could execute another order, Fernando Vives died on September 21, 1935.

Clovis Montero

Clovis Montero was born on November 30, 1878. He studied at the Seminary of Santiago. Despite not being a diligent student but a mischievous child that did many pranks to both his classmates and teachers, his creativity attracted Archbishop Casanova's attention, who Montero would be part of the second group of students sent to the Pius Latin American School and the Gregorian University in Italy.¹⁷⁹ He graduated on Theology, Canon Law, and Philosophy,¹⁸⁰ and was ordained in Rome on March 29, 1902. Back in Chile, Montero taught Theology, French, Canon Law, Sacred Eloquence, and Gregorian Singing at the Seminary until 1913.¹⁸¹ He also was professor of Canon Law at the Catholic University. Montero was Director of the *Casa de Ejercicios de San Juan Bautista* in 1912 and professor at the *Escuela de Artes y Oficios*, which gave technical education to the working class. In 1904, participated in the First Eucharistic Social Congress in the sections of Eucharistic Works and Social Works, in which he presented the paper entitled "La Iglesia y la cuestión social."¹⁸² He also worked at the *Secretariado Social* founded by the Archbishop Juan Ignacio González in the 1910s

In 1913, Montero was appointed parish priest of the Church *La Estampa*¹⁸³ after Rafael Edwards, his classmate in Rome, and who resigned to could fulfill his duties like Military Vicar. Montero stayed in the parish until 1920. He was famous for his oratorical

¹⁷⁹ *Seminario de Santiago*, 291-292.

¹⁸⁰ *Bibliografía Eclesiástica Chilena, preparada por la Biblioteca Central de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Universidad Católica, 1959), 206.

¹⁸¹ Arancibia Salcedo, *Diccionario biográfico*, 142. *Seminario de Santiago*, 292.

¹⁸² *Primer Congreso Eucarístico de Santiago de Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta y Encuadernación Chile, 1905), 620.

¹⁸³ Arancibia Salcedo, *Diccionario biográfico*, 142.

skills, but also for being musician, singer (tenor), and director of orchestra.¹⁸⁴ For example, he not only gave the opening speech at the Catholic Social Congress in 1910, but he also was in charge of the band that performed at the ceremony. Montero has assistant of Rafael Edwards in the direction of the Catholic Social Action in the 1920s.¹⁸⁵ In that role, in 1926, Montero was in charge of organizing the second congress of the Social Union held at the Catholic University.¹⁸⁶ Montero died on July 21, 1929, in the village of Constitución, 220 miles to the southwest of Santiago, where he was trying to recover his health. His funeral parlor was held at the Catholic University.¹⁸⁷

Miguel Claro

Miguel Claro was born in Santiago on February 12, 1861. Although he studied at the Seminary of Santiago, after getting his high school diploma Claro attended the University of Chile, getting a medical degree on January 12, 1885.¹⁸⁸ During the short time he dedicated to medicine, Claro made important contributions to hepatic abscess surgery.¹⁸⁹ His religious call made him to return to the seminary and he was ordained in March 17, 1888.

Claro served as general secretary of the Archbishopric during the administration of Mariano Casanova, who designated him General Vicar in 1902.¹⁹⁰ In 1904, Casanova also appointed him Canon of the Cathedral of Santiago. He was also Sacrist of the Cathedral. Upon request of the Chilean Church,¹⁹¹ in 1908 the Vatican appointed him

¹⁸⁴ *Seminario de Santiago*, 379-381.

¹⁸⁵ Edwards, "El R. P. Vives y la Acción Social de Chile," 480.

¹⁸⁶ *Bibliografía Eclesiástica*, 205

¹⁸⁷ Virgilio Figueroa, *Diccionario histórico, biográfico y bibliográfico de Chile*, vol. IV-V (Santiago: Impr. y Litogr. La Ilustración, 1931), 306.

¹⁸⁸ Enrique Laval, "Disentería y absceso hepático en el Chile colonial y republicano. El Doctor Miguel Claro Vásquez," *Revista Chilena de Infectología* 27-1 (2010): 78.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 76-79.

¹⁹⁰ *Bibliografía Eclesiástica*, 67. Laval, "Disentería y absceso hepático," 78.

¹⁹¹ "El duelo de la Iglesia," *LRC*, June 4, 1921, num. 476, 802.

Bishop of Legion (not in charge of a diocese). In 1919 was candidate to the Archbishopric of Santiago, although the favoritism was with Crescente Errázuriz, as already seen in his biography. The new Archbishop appointed him Coadjutor of the Archdiocese,¹⁹² and Auxiliary Bishop on May 5, 1919.

Miguel Claro was very active in social works. He was president of a worker's association called *Centro Cristiano*, and the *Institución León XIII* for workers' housing. He presided the First National Eucharistic Congress in 1904. Archbishop Errázuriz designated Claro director of the Catholic Social Action in 1919 but he left the post a couple of months later and Bishop Rafael Edwards assumed it. However, the most prominent Claro's work on social issues was his support to syndicalism. He founded in 1917 the "Casa del Pueblo," a worker center with the purpose to gather several labor unions. He also published two texts about it in 1920: *Carta dirigida a la gran Confederación Sindical del Trabajo, a los Directorios de las Casas del Pueblo de Santiago y Valparaíso y a los Sindicatos del País*¹⁹³ and *La Educación Sindical*. Claro spent the two last years of his life retired at this house due to his poor health. He died on May 21, 1921.

Guillermo Viviani

Guillermo Viviani was born on November 23, 1893, in Chillán. As well as José María Caro, Rafael Edwards, and Clovis Montero, he started his studies at the Seminary of Santiago and was sent to finish them to the Colegio Pío Latinoamericano and the Gregorian University in Rome. He obtained a Bachelor degree in Philosophy and Law and a Doctorate in Theology, and was ordained on July 25, 1915. Back in Chile, he was

¹⁹² *Bibliografía Eclesiástica*, 67.

¹⁹³ *Carta dirigida a la gran Confederación Sindical del Trabajo, a los Directorios de las Casas del Pueblo de Santiago y Valparaíso y a los Sindicatos del País* (Santiago: Imp. Chile, 1920); *La Educación Sindical* (Santiago: Imp. La Economía, 1920).

chaplain of the *Casa de Ejercicios de San Juan Bautista* in Santiago, teacher at the Seminary, and the *Liceo de Aplicación*. He wrote at *El Mercurio* newspaper between 1928 and 1932.¹⁹⁴

Viviani started to work on social issues as soon as he returned to Chile from his study in Rome. He created several study's circles for workers and students; was one of Bishop Miguel Claro's assistants during the short period of time the prelate was director of the Chilean Catholic Social Action; was in charge of the "Casa del Pueblo," workers' center created by Claro; and gave several lectures on the Social Question in the whole country. He also had an abundant literary production on social issues mostly around the idea of democracy and syndicalism. He even founded a newspaper only devoted to the last topic: *El Sindicalista*, which ran between 1918 and 1925. In 1928, Viviani published *Estatutos modelo de un círculo de estudios sociales*, although written in 1922, and that was adopted as the official regulations of the Chilean Catholic Social Action, Youth section, in 1934.¹⁹⁵

However, as Viviani's ideas were more progressive than in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, even being closer to corporatism and fascism, the priest had problems within the Catholic Church. While at the "Casa del Pueblo," for example, he was not allowed to establish a small parish under the name "Worker Jesus." The main problems were because Viviani advocated the participation of Catholics in politics. He even formed a political party called "Popular Party" in 1921, which existed for a couple of years.¹⁹⁶ As punishment, in 1922, he was sent to Valparaíso as parish priest of *El Barón* Parish, being

¹⁹⁴ *Bibliografía Eclesiástica*, 314.

¹⁹⁵ Enrique García Ahumada, "Catequesis Social Liberadora en Chile," 5. From <http://www.amerindiaenlared.org/biblioteca/3106/catequesis-social-liberadora-en-chile/>. Accessed on July 3, 2013. Originally in Enrique García Ahumada, *Historia de la educación de la fe católica en Chile* (Santiago: Tiberiades, 2009).

¹⁹⁶ Maximiliano Salinas, *Clotario Blest, profeta de Dios contra el capitalismo* (Santiago: Eds. Rehue, 1987), 77.

there until 1924.¹⁹⁷ He even participated in politics when he was appointed director of the *Dirección General del Trabajo* during the dictatorial presidency of the general Carlos Ibáñez in 1927. Constantly writing on social issues, although not having an ascendant career like the others priests mentioned here due to his advanced ideas, Guillermo Viviani died in Santiago on December 18, 1964.

Jorge Fernández Pradel

Jorge Fernández Pradel was born on September 26, 1879 in Santiago. He attended the Seminary of Santiago for his secondary education and entered the Society of Jesus in 1897. He studied in Argentina, Belgium, Ireland, Holland, Spain, and Chile, being ordained on August 25, 1912. In Europe, Fernández Pradel met Jesuit that worked in *L'Action Populaire*, which worked in favor of the poor, and was highly influenced by them. When he returned to Chile at the end of 1914, he began to work at the San Ignacio High School, teaching Religion, Philosophy, and History; and was director of the Marian congregation, male section, from 1915 to 1917.¹⁹⁸ He also was in charge of the Sociology class at the Seminary of Santiago.¹⁹⁹

As Fernando Vives experienced, Fernández Pradel also had to go to exile due to his more progressive ideas. First, he was sent to Argentina between 1918 and 1921, teaching Religion and English in Santa Fe and Buenos Aires. In 1921, he returned to his work at the Marian congregation, this time in charge of the youth section.²⁰⁰ He also taught sociology at the Catholic University.²⁰¹ He directed of several circles of study, the most popular of them was the “Monday Meetings,” in which their members, mainly

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 73.

¹⁹⁸ Charles E. O'Neill, S.I. & Joaquín Ma. Domínguez, S.I. (dir.), *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. Biográfico-temático* Vol. II (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), 1403.

¹⁹⁹ *Bibliografía Eclesiástica*, 105.

²⁰⁰ José I. Cifuentes Grez, “Un Apóstol Social,” *Sic* 234 (1961): 173.

²⁰¹ O'Neill, *Diccionario histórico*, 1403.

students of the San Ignacio High School, studied Catholic Social Teachings.²⁰² In summer time, from December to March, he went to the north of the country, to the nitrate mines in Tarapacá and Antofagasta, or to the south, to the coal mines in Lota and Coronel, to give lectures to workers.²⁰³ Having to leave Chile again in 1934, he lived in Bogotá, Colombia, where he was secretary of the Javeriana University, advisor of the Catholic Action at the San Bartolomé High School and directed retreats for workers and youth.²⁰⁴ He also spent some time in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia.²⁰⁵ Back in Chile in 1939, he resumed his work at the circles of study, supported the formation of workers' cooperatives, and returned to travel on summer but only to the north since his health was not good now for the weather of the south of Chile.²⁰⁶

Later in his life, Fernández Pradel supported the foundation of the magazine *Mensaje*, created by the Jesuit Alberto Hurtado in 1952. There, he also published nine articles between 1952 and 1954.²⁰⁷ He supported workers' housing initiatives, being directly involved in the construction of three groups of houses: *Población Maipú*, *Población Dr. Óscar Jiménez*, and houses for Catholic female teachers.²⁰⁸ He was the ecclesiastical director of the *Círculo de Intelectuales*.²⁰⁹

²⁰² Fernando Aliaga Rojas, *Itinerario histórico. De los Círculos de Estudio a las Comunidades Juveniles de Base* (Santiago: Equipo de Servicio de la Juventud, Talleres Gráficos "Corporación," 1977), 38; Stephen J. C. Andes, *The Vatican and Catholic Activism in Mexico and Chile, 1920-40*. Diss. St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, 2010, 136.

²⁰³ Cifuentes Grez, "Un Apóstol Social," 173.

²⁰⁴ O'Neill, *Diccionario histórico*, 1403.

²⁰⁵ Cifuentes Grez, "Un Apóstol Social," 173.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

²⁰⁷ "Jorge Fernández Pradel S.J. (1879-1961)," *Mensaje* 97 (1961): 72.

²⁰⁸ "Necrología sacerdotal y religiosa. El R. P. Jorge Fernández Pradel, de la Compañía de Jesús," *LRC*, January-April, 1961, num. 989, 2979.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

In 1960, doctors diagnosed him with anemia and extracted him the spleen. Although he recovered well from the surgery, resuming for some time his activities. But his health was very weak and Fernández Pradel passed away on February 18, 1961.²¹⁰

Carlos Casanueva

Great-grandson of Andrés Bello, Carlos Casanueva was one of the priests that held more power within the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy although he never was appointed Bishop. He was born on September 27, 1874, studied at the San Ignacio High School and then, he studied for being a lawyer at the University of Chile, obtaining his law degree in 1896. He then attended the Seminary of Santiago and was ordained on September 23, 1900. Casanueva stood out for three activities: journalism, his work at the *Patronato San Filomena*, and his presidency of the Catholic University since 1920 until 1953. In each of these jobs, he stood out for his magnificent administrative skills, having a special ability to raise money, mainly from the elite. He was called also “Carlos Cazavieja” (Carlos, hunter of old women), for his ability to convince elite old women to give money to social works or the Catholic University.

As well as other priests of the period, Casanueva worked in journalism. Upon request of the Archbishop González, he founded *El Diario Popular* in 1902 and worked there until 1906.²¹¹ Between 1906 and 1909, he was director of the newspaper *La Unión* in his edition of Santiago. Later in those years, he would be in charge also of the editions of *La Union* of the cities of Concepción and Valparaíso. He used the penname “Kar” to sign his articles. With a strong and sometimes controversial style, Casanueva’s aimed to face the “great modern war against Jesus Christ.” Thus, his articles focused on

²¹⁰ Cifuentes Grez, “Un Apóstol Social,” 175.

²¹¹ Pilar Hevia Fabres, *El Rector de los Milagros. Don Carlos Casanueva Opazo, 1874/1915* (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica de Chile, 2004, 59. Castro, *Prensa y Periodismo en Chile*, 374.

secularization, Marxism, and Protestantism.²¹² Casanueva even published a book with his ideas on Catholic press.²¹³

Casanueva's most important social work, with which he was identified, was the *Patronato Santa Filomena*. He was involved in this project since its foundation in 1890, while Casanueva still was at high school and his work there was decisive in deciding to become a priest.²¹⁴ Indeed, right after being ordained, he was appointed chaplain of the patronato, where he celebrated his first Mass.²¹⁵ The patronato celebrated every year his onomastic with several artistic and sport activities. Casanueva wrote a book with his memories of his years working at the patronato.²¹⁶ Although the patronato was his most popular work, Casanueva also was involved in several workers' housing projects.²¹⁷

In 1920, he was appointed President of the Catholic University. Its first mission was to face the serious financial problems that the institution faced. Casanueva ordered the numbers and worked hard on the growth of the University. During his administration, the university developed new five departments: Economy, Medicine, Education, Philosophy, and Theology. He also founded the theater, the university's sports club, and the athletic stadium. To enhance medicine studies, he founded the *Hospital Clínico de la Universidad Católica*. In 1934, Casanueva obtained from the Vatican the title of "pontifical" for the university.²¹⁸

Within the Church, Casanueva also held other posts. Between 1904 and 1908, he was chaplain of the *Escuela Normal del Arzobispado*, and in 1910, he was designated

²¹² Hevia Fabres, *El Rector de los Milagros*, 60.

²¹³ Carlos Casanueva, *La obra fundamental* (Santiago: Imprenta La Revista Católica, 1908).

²¹⁴ Hevia Fabres, *El Rector de los Milagros*, 47.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

²¹⁶ Carlos Casanueva, *El Patronato de Santa Filomena: Recuerdos íntimos* (Santiago, Imprenta La Gratitude Nacional, 1921).

²¹⁷ Arancibia Salcedo, *Diccionario biográfico*, 45.

²¹⁸ *Bibliografía Eclesiástica*, 60.

principal of the *Agustinas* Church, keeping the post until his death.²¹⁹ Before being designated president of the university, Casanueva was spiritual director of the Seminary between 1911 and 1919. While in the presidency of the University, Archbishop Errázuriz appointed him Honorary Canon of the Cathedral of Santiago (December 1923), and Protonotary apostolic in 1935.

He quit the presidency of the university in 1953 and lived retired at the Agustinas Church. One year later, he suffered a cerebra thrombosis and was admitted to the hospital of the University. Casanueva spent there the next three years until his death on May 31, 1957. For four years, his remains rested at the Catholic Cemetery, until in 1961, when his body was buried in one of the gardens of the Catholic University.²²⁰

CONCLUSION

The twelve priests whose lives I have reviewed in this chapter, beyond his differences, had in common his concern over the Social Question, as I will emphasize in the next chapters. However, they shared also a broader characteristic: they were result of the Romanization process of the Latin American Church. The connection they established with Rome was something not seen before. Archbishop Casanova traveled several times to Europe, having a decisive role on the organization of the First Plenary Latin American Council of 1899. It is said that even the Vatican thought on him for Cardinal but his health problems made this impossible. Although the other two Archbishops did not travel as much as Casanova, their agreement with Rome was notorious. This was due mostly to the influence in their administrations of the new generation of priests formed in Rome or in the Seminary in Santiago under the guidance of professors that studied there. Just to name the priests studied in this chapter, José María Caro, Rafael Edwards, Guillermo

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Hevia Fabres, *El Rector de los Milagros*, 161-165.

Viviani, and Clovis Montero spent time in Europe gaining not only practical education but also cultural experiences. Knowing other realities gave them tools to face the challenges of the social, economic and political transformation of the country.

These men also had a profuse written work. Some made of journalism a second career. Carlos Casanueva and Crescente Errázuriz are the best example, but also Guillermo Viviani, Rafael Edwards, José María Caro, Martín Rucker, Fernando Vives. By their written, they aimed to educate Catholics on the Social Questions, its perils, and solutions. Some were even intellectuals, developing an interesting path on literary and historical works. Crescente Errázuriz is respected until today as one of the finest Chilean historians. Martín Rucker had interesting works on literature.

Finally, yet importantly since it has been a leading argument in this chapter, there was their common social origin. With the big exception of José María Caro, all the priests studied here belonged to the economic, social and/or cultural elite of the country. Having chosen the ecclesiastical career did not reunite them in and with a particular social environment. Miguel Claro was a medical doctor for some time before becoming a priest. Others, like Mariano Casanova, Crescente Errázuriz, Fernando Vives, Carlos Casanueva studied laws before entering the Seminary, the paradigmatic profession of Chilean elite's men.

The case of Caro is particularly noteworthy. While he differs from the rest of the group by having a very different social origin characteristic of the group -maybe the most important feature of the unity of the group-, at the same time he stands out for being who achieved the highest post with the ecclesiastical hierarchy: the cardinalate. His intelligence and the ability of his professors to appreciate it, made of him one of the best examples of the Romanized clergy. He studied in Rome, was there, in fact, when the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* was issued, living that historical moment in the same place it

happened. Back in Chile, he transferred the knowledge learned in Rome to the students at the Seminary of Santiago. He also founded several newspapers in which he himself wrote abundantly. Finally, his cardinalate must be interpreted as the recognition of the Vatican of Caro's services to Catholicism. Although during the last part of his life, Caro was called by some "the red cardinal" due to his supposed inclination to left wing ideas, he was good at recognizing the "Sign of the Times."

Did the Romanization of the Chilean clergy mean that they become modern? The novelty about them was that they performed their activities in modern way, not that their ideas modernized. They just had the skills to defend Catholicism better. As the next chapters will show, where I will focus on their ideas, the priests used modern tools to defend the traditional views of the Catholic Church on social organization.

Chapter 2: The Secularized Church. The Modern Catholic Tools to Talk About the Social Question

INTRODUCTION

No matter how much the fight against the State laicization could have been, there was a common concern within the Chilean elite (laity and clergy, both were part of the same big family as I saw in the previous chapter) about the need of preserving social order as it had been defined in colonial times. In fact, along the nineteenth century, over the diverse debates on the press between the Church and the State -civil marriage, women education, for example, one of the biggest assets of Chile in was immobile: its republican essence. The Republic was the new political organization that replaced monarchy but kept the hierarchical social organization. That is why Chile was not divided in two opposite and irreconcilable poles: conservatives on the one side and liberals on the other. Both conservatives and liberals aimed for the maintenance of the Republic.¹ The passing of the “Lay Laws” in the mid 1880s (secularization of cemeteries, civil marriage and civil records for births) marked an important milestone in the relationship between the Church and the State in terms of the laicization of the State, however, the new norms did not mean a violent turn in their relationship because all the actors involved -civil and religious- valued the existence of the Republic as the frame in which Chilean society should evolve. In fact, although the Church did not stop its concern on secularization of the belief of faithful, as the Synod of Santiago warned in 1895,² the Church moved its concern from the political arena to a broader area in which they called attention over religious, economic and social issues as the devotion of priests towards the Social Question would demonstrate.

¹ Stüven, *La Seducción de un Orden* and Krebs, *La Iglesia en América Latina*, 91.

² Lynch, *New Worlds*, 200.

It is within the context of the evolution of the Church regarding the Chilean state along the nineteenth century that the ways of speaking of the Church in the public sphere must be understood. Specifically, for the last years of the nineteenth century, the Church acting inside a republican regime is how its stance towards the Social Question had to be understood. To face the consequences of modernity, the Chilean Church also modernized and, consequently, secularized. Therefore, the argument of this chapter is that the way the Church spoke about the Social Question was also the secularization of the Church.

Firstly, the press, the representation of the public sphere in modern times par excellence. *La Revista Católica*, founded in 1843, was the official publication of the Church in Chile. The topics covered by the journal represented the preoccupations of the Church at the moment. As I will see in this chapter, starting the twentieth century, the most important articles will be about social problems. Secondly, there are the pastorals letters issued by the Archbishops in Chile concerning social problems. While these kind of documents are not new, the novelty is in the topics they covered. Archbishops continued issuing pastorals regarding several religious themes, but they also used these documents now to speak about very worldly problems and to offer practical solutions. In other words, by using the pastoral letters to speak about the Social Question, the Chilean Church secularized from the inside. Third and last, there are the Catholic Congresses held starting in 1904 where working class' problems were the main subject debated. In them, both laity and clergy took part opening the door to a more active participation of laymen and laywomen on the social problems of the country. As politicians had also started to show concern on social problems, laity activity on social issues and politics will prove, as the next chapters will show, to be of particular preoccupation for the Church.

I will start with a summary of the main points of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) as this document set the direction for the Chilean Catholic social thought in the

period I study. Then, I will chronicle briefly the history of *La Revista Católica* since its foundation in 1843 until 1931, and I will describe the approach of the journal to social issues between 1901 and 1931. Next, I will review the seven pastorals on the Social Question or some of its aspects issued by the three Archbishops of the period: Mariano Casanova (1887-1908), Juan Ignacio González (1908-1918), and Crescente Errázuriz (1919-1931). Then, I will describe the celebrations of the two Catholic meetings organized by the Church around social issues: the First National Eucharistic Congress (1904), and the Catholic Social Congress (1910).

THE DIRECTIONS FROM THE VATICAN: THE ENCYCLICAL *RERUM NOVARUM*, 1891

The Encyclical starts by diagnosing the social problem that affected the Western countries experiencing industrialization:

The elements of the conflict now raging are unmistakable, in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvelous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals, and the utter poverty of the masses; the increased self-reliance and closer mutual combination of the working classes; as also, finally, in the prevailing moral degeneracy.³

It is important to note that there is no reference to socialism in the Papal diagnosis of the situation. In fact, Leo XIII, instead of focusing on socialism at first, emphasized the role of the employers in the impoverishment of workers: “by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been surrendered, isolated and helpless, to the hardheartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition.”⁴ In the mind of the Pope, socialism was only one of the many solutions proposed to end the workers’ problems. However, this solution is worse than the problem itself because, due to the class

³ All the quotes of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* are from the edition published in the web page of the Holy See at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_en.html. The references from this point forward will be “Leo XIII, 1891.”

⁴ Leo XIII, 1891.

struggle and the end of private property that socialists proposed, the only result would be that “the working man himself would be among the first to suffer.”⁵

The role of the State, in this context, is necessary only when any member of society -either rich or poor- is treated in a way not in accordance with distributive justice. Such situations would be

If by a strike of workers or concerted interruption of work there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace; or if circumstances were such as that among the working class the ties of family life were relaxed; if religion were found to suffer through the workers not having time and opportunity afforded them to practice its duties; if in workshops and factories there were danger to morals through the mixing of the sexes or from other harmful occasions of evil; or if employers laid burdens upon their workmen which were unjust, or degraded them with conditions repugnant to their dignity as human beings; finally, if health were endangered by excessive labor, or by work unsuited to sex or age.⁶

Regardless of this scenario, though, the state “must not undertake more, nor proceed further, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the mischief.” Leo XIII did not consider the State as the organizer of rights and duties before the arrangements of individuals. If any problem arose, then the State had to take some action in order to protect the weak ones. This difference is important, because it would allow us to understand the change over the Chilean Catholic thought about this matter. It was an issue of how to understand social organization.

By leaving the State in a secondary place, the Pope concluded that religion was the only real solution for the Social Question, because “there is no intermediary more powerful than religion [...] in drawing the rich and the working class together, by reminding each of its duties to the other, and especially of the obligations of justice.”⁷

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Leo XIII next explained that, in order to an ideal society might exist, both workers and employers had to fulfill their respective duties. For their part, workers must

Of these duties, the following bind the proletarian and the worker: fully and faithfully to perform the work which has been freely and equitably agreed upon; never to injure the property, nor to outrage the person, of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises of great results, and excite foolish hopes which usually end in useless regrets and grievous loss.

This is relevant in terms of the further development of the Chilean Catholic social thought, because the Pope is implying that workers had agency when setting the contract as they used their freedom. But on the other hand, the Pope warned to the peril of workers being convinced by ideologies that “excite foolish hopes.” The main consequences and risk of this were strikes, which, continued the Pope, existed only due to socialist or anarchist influences on workers. Indeed, Leo XIII gave a completely separate paragraph to explain why strikes are dangerous for social order.

Employers, accordingly, must pay a fair salary to their workers, enough to cover living expenses and saving for the future. They must not treat their workers as if they were slaves or abuse them as if “they were things in the pursuit of gain.” That meant that the working class could not be required to perform a job that was not in accordance with their sex or age, and that working days had to be respected, giving the workers time for religious observance. The Pope highlighted here the importance of respecting Sunday rest and religious holidays.

Finally, the Pope strongly recommended the creation of three kinds of Catholic associations in order to face the Social Question: institutions for the welfare of children and youth (the patronatos), mutual benefit associations, and workingmen’s unions. The last were the most important as they were considered a new version of medieval guilds.

Goals of any of these associations were both practical and spiritual, but Leo XIII underlined the relevance of spiritual life to workers, given the gravity of life after death over comfort while on earth. Therefore, Leo XIII defined equality according to the common attribute of persons of being sons of God; in everything else human beings could be “naturally” different: “people differ in capacity, skill, health, strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of unequal condition.”

LA REVISTA CATÓLICA 1892-1931

La Revista Católica was founded in 1843 and lasted until 1873. Publication resumed in 1892 but only for two years and a half. The third period of *La Revista Católica* started in 1901, and it is being published until today, although in the present it does not have the influence that did have one hundred years ago. When introducing the new phase of the magazine in 1892, the writer recalled that in 1843 “Santiago’s clergy thought it was indispensable to have a journal in order to defend Catholic principles and promote the Catholics interests of the country.”⁸ Indeed, as Chile began in the 1840s a notorious commercial expansion and a strengthening of its political life,⁹ the Church started feeling attacked because the State began to laicize its institutions and secularization began within society.¹⁰

Hence, the Church also secularized by adopting some features of modernity. One of these tools was the press. For the new enterprise, the Archbishop Manuel Vicuña chose for its direction the best representatives within the ecclesiastical hierarchy: Fathers Rafael Valentín Valdivieso, José Hipólito Salas, and Joaquín Larraín. Once the first one became Archbishop of Santiago in 1848 (although kept the post of Director) and Salas was appointed Bishop of Concepción in 1854, the executive director was Larraín and his

⁸ “Restablecimiento de la ‘Revista Católica,’” *LRC*, August 1, 1892, num. 1,301, p. 621.

⁹ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 71.

¹⁰ Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?*, 24; Vicuña, *La belle époque chilena*, 154-155.

assistant was Father Rafael Fernández. In 1861, Crescente Errázuriz, who would be ordained in 1863, was appointed director. He kept the post until the end of the first period of *La Revista Católica* in 1874.¹¹

During its first thirty years, *La Revista Católica* worked to face secularization. Its editorials and articles focused on criticizing laicizing law projects, denouncing people that distanced from religion, and emphasizing the Catholic view of society like the role of women, for example.¹² As such, the journal was published to be read by the elite, the citizens that really mattered. However, by the beginning of the 1870s, the fight got tougher. In the 1870s, the Congress started to discuss the secularizing law projects that ended up being the so-called “Lay Laws,” enacted in the 1880s. With the radicalization of the secularization process,¹³ it was necessary a faster defense and reply to the attacks from liberals, and, in 1874, *LRC* stopped publishing. The new “weapon” was the newspaper *El Estandarte Católico*, which ran until 1891. Despite the change from a weekly newspaper to a daily one, it was more a transition than a brutal change. The director of the new newspaper was the former director of *LRC*, priest Crescente Errázuriz. Besides, in the last number of the first period of *LRC*, there was a small insertion in the last page that said:

This will be the last number of *La Revista Católica*. It has been already published the prospectus of *El Estandarte Católico*, name of the newspaper in which our journal will turn into. We have, in this way, the satisfaction to see that one of our fervent wishes becomes reality, and from now on, there will be one more newspaper devoted to the magnificent cause to which, for thirty years, the editors of *La Revista Católica* have dedicated their sacrifices.¹⁴

¹¹ Fidel Araneda, *Un lingüista polémico. Manuel Antonio Román*. Suplemento del Boletín de la Academia Chilena 59 (1970): 74.

¹² Gabriel Cid, “La Revista Católica: prensa, esfera pública y secularización en Chile (1853-1874),” *Mapocho* 71 (2012): 137-155.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁴ *LRC*, July 11, 1874, num. 1,300, 619.

Although there is a consensus in the historiography about the end of *LRC* and the birth of *EEC*, in his memories, Errázuriz shows a different version. He explained the birth of *EEC* due to two reasons. Firstly, there was the little activity of *LRC* by that time he was its director. He stated that

the journal had a very slow life that almost did not deserved to be called 'life.' Not even us, the ones in charge of its publication, read what appeared in its pages. [...]. Only sometimes, when an issue was related to religion, the journal was useful to the ecclesiastical authority to defend Catholic interests and warn the faithful.

Second, the birth of *EEC* was due to the debates between conservatives to define the role of the Catholic press before the government. Some laymen thought Catholics had to show in the press a stronger and united stance against the government since conservatives had left it when Abdón Cifuentes resigned as Secretary of Education and radicals had been welcomed as part of the coalition in office. A group of Catholics had founded in 1864 the newspaper *El Independiente*, being Zorobabel Rodríguez its director since its beginning until 1884. Although defending religion against secularizing projects of the government, *El Independiente* had clearly a more political approach to the issue and wanted *LRC* did the same. But Errázuriz was very against to this idea. He did not want religion and politics be mixed:

I have constantly wished separate the clerical and political spheres. Although I think it is a very important duty to defend religion in the realm of politics, and participate in the last one in order to favor the first one, I believe that it is not only inconvenient but also dangerous the intromission of clergy in simply partisan and personal politics.

He would be true to this ideal all his life as the problem about laymen's political participation arose in 1920s when he was Archbishop of Santiago. This stance of the catholic press also contributed to understand its future position on the Social Question. Errázuriz stated that the situation was unbearable because it caused people believe that

the opinion of the Church was the opinion of *El Independiente*. Thus, it was decided that a new newspaper, under the exclusively supervision of the ecclesiastical authority, should be founded. Errázuriz recalled not to remember who came up with the idea but he did remember that “I do not think there will be any other idea accepted with greater enthusiasm.” Although it seemed that both *El Independiente* and *EEC* worked harmoniously by focusing the first one on politics and the second one on religion, the relationship between both teams were inexistent. Arguments increased until almost being personal, Errázuriz affirmed.¹⁵

During its seventeen years, *EEC* carried out “a more energetic, passionate, and belligerent journalistic style than *La Revista Católica*.”¹⁶ The main change was that a daily edition allowed a faster reply to the attacks from liberalism.¹⁷ However, the newspaper finished due to the Civil War in 1891. The government decreed the closure of the press, which was mostly against President Balmaceda. The last edition of *EEC* is from January 30, 1891. When the conflict finished nine months later, it did not return. Its successor was *El Porvenir*, which started on August 31, 1891, and was published until 1906.¹⁸ During its first year was under the ecclesiastical authority, being purchased by laymen one year later. It became a mix between *EEC* and *El Independiente*. While defending Catholicism and keeping good relations to the Church, *El Porvenir* held a political approach in its labor.

¹⁵ Crescente Errázuriz, *Algo de lo que he visto*, 181-208.

¹⁶ Patricio Bernedo, “Usando las armas del adversario. Prensa e Iglesia en el Chile del siglo XIX,” *Cuadernos de Información* 19, (2006):106.

¹⁷ *El Estandarte Católico*, “Nuestra Obra I,” July 20, 1874, quoted in Bernedo, 106. Bernedo wrongfully states that *EEC* started on June rather than July.

¹⁸ Carlos Oviedo, “La Iglesia en la Revolución de 1891,” *Historia*, 14, (1979): 296. The date of *El Porvenir*’s first number is from Silva Castro, *Prensa y Periodismo en Chile*, 250. Oviedo says that it was on August 30. The copy of the newspaper held at the National Library of Chile shows that Silva was right.

The existence of *El Porvenir* was one of the reasons indicated for the return of *LRC*. In the editorial of the number 1,301 –*LRC* resumed its numeration from its last number in 1874 and even continued with the pages’ numbers-, the writer says:

as *EEC* has become today in *El Porvenir* [...], it will continue serving the Catholic cause and, at the same time, defending the ideals and political interests of the superior and legendary [Conservative] party, which has always fought with valor and selflessness for all the great causes that concern the good of the religion and the fatherland.¹⁹

Being Catholics’ political concern covered by the new newspaper, he continued, “[*EEC*] retires to his old and first home, reestablishing *La Revista Católica*.”²⁰ This context also determined the journey of the reestablished journal. *LRC* promised not to be a political newspaper, it would be one only if “politics, turning the course that the good of the nations indicates, offends the teachings or institutions of the Church.” If this did not happen, the journal declared that its mission would be to “illustrate the issues that concern to Catholicism, [and] to offer to his readers, and in particular to the Christian families, an instructive, useful, and pleasant reading, and affordable to any intelligence.”²¹ Right after this statement, there was the document that appointed the priest Rodolfo Vergara as its director. A former director of *EEC*, Vergara was, at that time, was vice-president of the Catholic University and would be its president from 1898 until his death in 1914. Father Rafael Fernández Concha, who worked also in the first *LRC* and wrote on *EEC*, was appointed its responsible editor. It was published twice per month during its first nine months. On May 1, 1893, it began to be published weekly.

However, this period only lasted for two years and a half. On January 5, 1895, *LRC* published its last number. Without any previous notice, in the cover page of that

¹⁹ “Restablecimiento de la ‘Revista Católica,’” *LRC*, August 1, 1892, num. 1,301, 622.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, 623.

edition, there was a short statement: “With the present edition, the publication of *La Revista Católica* stops for an indefinite period of time.” Subscribers who had already paid for the whole semester (January-June) would receive a reimbursement.²² When the journal reappeared in 1901, its end in 1892 was considered only as a “see you later,” a “temporary discontinuation.”²³ The Church started preparing its return in 1898 when the Archbishop Casanova created a commission whose members (Fathers Rodolfo Vergara Antúnez -director of the journal during its second period-, Manuel Antonio Román and Miguel Rafael Urzúa) were on charge of reestablishing the journal.²⁴ However, its definitive reappearance in the new century was much more a new beginning than a continuation. This time, there was no continuity of the numbering, year or pages. Besides, the editorial of the first number highlighted that the journal would have a continuous and stable life because the journal had its own printer.

The continuity was in the spirit that always had led the journal: “to fulfill the superior mission that matter to us of watching over the doctrine and defending it in the field of the press from the attacks of disbelief.”²⁵ The director was one of the members of the commission, the priest Manuel Antonio Román, who was already a person of power within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Although not from the elite,²⁶ once he arrived to Santiago to become a priest, he started a meteoric career within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He was designated Secretary of the Archbishopric in 1887, President of the San Pedro Damiano Seminary the next year, and General Vicar of the Archbishopric in

²² “Aviso,” *LRC*, January 5, 1895, num.1,407, 401.

²³ “Restablecimiento de la Revista Católica,” *LRC*, August 15, 1901, vol.1, 1.

²⁴ Antonio Rehbein, “La Revista Católica, 150 años de servicio eclesial,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 11 (1993): 19.

²⁵ “Restablecimiento de la Revista Católica,” *LRC*, August 15, 1901, vol.1, 2.

²⁶ He was born in Doñihue, a rural village 64 miles to the south of Santiago and studied in the section of the Seminary for students that received grants because he could not afford tuition. Arancibia Salcedo, *Diccionario biográfico*, 177, and *Bibliografía Eclesiástica*, 250.

1889, keeping this last post until his death in 1920.²⁷ Most important perhaps, he was one of the closest assistants of Archbishop Casanova. Thus, due to his several duties, Román delegated some of his work in the journal to Father Gaspar Cardemil, but he kept working on the literary sections, as he also was a renowned specialist on literature. His successor after his death was Father Francisco Valdivia²⁸ who did not do major changes in the journal; rather than, he aimed to strengthen the work accomplished by Román.²⁹

Perhaps one of the small changes was the signing of the articles because until 1920, approximately, nobody authored the majority of the articles of the journal. This was an explicit decision of *LRC*. When in 1910 the articles published about the Social Question in the countryside caused a small controversy and the journal received a considerable amount of letters both praising and criticizing the arguments,³⁰ the journal clarified that when an article did not have an author, it had to be considered that had the support and authority of the whole journal. “It is custom of the editorial team, not to sign the articles but those that are about special subjects or different from the section they are published in” was its statement.³¹ The journal received more authority in 1909 when the ecclesiastical hierarchy decided that *LRC* would be the official publication of not only the Archbishopric of Santiago as it had been until that moment, but also of the entire Chilean ecclesiastical province (which comprised Santiago, La Serena, Ancud and Concepción). With their decision, the bishops aimed to “facilitate and strengthen the bonds and the uniformity in the ecclesiastical discipline and in the study of sacred sciences within the clergy of the entire Chilean ecclesiastical province.”³²

²⁷ *Bibliografía Eclesiástica*, 250.

²⁸ “Director de ‘La Revista Católica,’” *LRC*, May 7, 1921, vol.40, 643.

²⁹ “A nuestros lectores,” *LRC*, May 21, 1921, num. 475, 721.

³⁰ See chapter four.

³¹ “Más sobre inquilinos,” *LRC*, April 2, 1910, vol.18, 381.

³² “Conferencias del Episcopado Chileno celebradas en el Palacio Arzobispal de Santiago,” *LRC*, September 18, 1909, vol.17, 261. The meeting was held in Santiago in July, 1909. The journal thanked the

The major novelty of the third period was the topics studied. Along with the publication of decrees and documents of the Vatican and the Chilean Church; religious, historical, and literary studies; and a news report section (both national and international), there was a notorious increment on articles published on social issues compared to the journal of the previous century. For the Catholic Church, the main preoccupation in the nineteenth century was society's secularization and state laicization, and for that reason ecclesiastical hierarchy founded *LRC*. This is why any slightly mention to social problems in previous years was secondary to the main topic addressed. For instance, in 1873 and 1874, the only time that the word “*obrero*” was mentioned in the journal was in the “Intenciones del Apostolado de la Oración en Chile para el mes de Julio de 1873,” which were dedicated that month to pray for Spain. The text warned about the possibility that Spanish working class could succumb to “revolutionary” ideas given that they were “taken away from sacred influences.”³³ In the brief second period of *LRC*, there was some texts that mentioned social issues as Archbishop Casanova also devoted some of his pastorals to social problems. For example, in the first number of 1892, the journal published an article that addressed the serious social consequences of alcoholism in the “*pueblo*” for the entire Chilean society.³⁴ Also, in 1894 and 1895, the mentions to social issues related to politics were due to the publication of Casanova's pastoral on anti-religious and anti-socials doctrines.³⁵ Finally, as what would be an advance for the third

new status in an editorial the following month and declared their new and expanded goals: “La Revista Católica [...] will be the bond for a common union; the intellectual home where works together those who embrace and defends the same cause; the constant exposition of the religious condition of the country, its Christian social action, its internal organization, its performed works, and future projects; and, finally, the journal will be the unanimous voice of order of our Prelates for the most correct direction of the Chilean Church.” “Mayor amplitud de acción,” *LRC*, August 7, 1909, num. 193, 6.

³³ “Intenciones del Apostolado de la Oración en Chile para el mes de Julio de 1873,” *LRC*, June 28, 1873, num. 1252, 180.

³⁴ “La embriaguez en Chile,” *LRC*, August 1, 1892, 628-632.

³⁵ See for example: “Necesidad de conservar la fe en el pueblo,” *LRC*, August 12, 1893, num. 1334, 1297-1299; “La mala prensa y la prensa impía,” *LRC*, September 9, 1893, num. 1338, 18-21 and September 16, 1893, num. 1339; and the series of four articles “Catolicismo y anarquismo” published in June of 1894 by

period of the journal, it reproduced two European ecclesiastical documents about Catholic social thought,³⁶ and published two notes on the activities of Chilean charitable institutions.³⁷

On its edition of September 1, 1901, the third number of its new period, *LRC* inaugurated its section on social issues by asking their readers to send information about Catholics social works performed in Santiago to the priests in charge of redacting those articles because *LRC* would publish articles about the “catholic-social movement.”³⁸ The new section was called “Social Studies.” From 1909, the journal created more sections that also covered different aspects of the Social Question. “Social Action” started that year, as a special request of the new Archbishop González. The section “Sociology” began in 1915, “Social Problems” in 1916, and “Social Questions” in 1920. Finally, the “Catholic Action” section started in 1928 as the movement became more institutionalized. Under any of the six names used, the journal published one hundred sixty articles between 1901 and 1931. Yet, those were not the only pages devoted to social problems in the journal. Between the editorials, and the sections National and International News (“Crónica”), Current Affairs (“Cuestiones de Actualidad”), and Bibliography, the journal talked on Social Question or some of its aspects more than two hundred and fifty times in those thirty years.

then recently ordained José María Caro in what would be the first collaboration to *LRC* of the future Cardinal.

³⁶ “Carta de León XIII a Mr. Gaspar Decurtius [Swiss laymen and promoter of Catholic Social Thought] sobre los intereses de la clase obrera,” *LRC*, December 10, 1893, num. 1351, 246-248; “Carta pastoral de los reverendos preladados españoles que han ido a Roma acompañando a la peregrinación nacional obrera de 1894,” *LRC*, August 11, 1894, num. 1386, 17-22.

³⁷ “La Sociedad de Santa Filomena,” *LRC*, September 1, 1894, num. 1389, 84-85 and “Asociación de las Señoras de la Caridad de Valparaíso,” *LRC*, September 15, 1894, num. 1391, 106-107.

³⁸ “Importante,” *LRC*, September 1, 1901, vol.1, 152. Sadly, there is no mention of the names of these priests. However, Fidel Araneda in his work on Manuel Román affirms that Father Martín Rücker was in charge of the section and that the priests Rafael Edwards and Carlos Casanueva commented “the social doctrines of Leo XIII.” Araneda, *Un lingüista polémico*, 77.

What the expanded coverage on social issues showed was not only the obvious increasing Catholic concern on the Social Question, of course; they proved also that Catholic press was responding to a new historical context. Articles around social issues were even the principal subjects of the journal sometimes. In 1910, for example, the journal published the pastoral of Archbishop González in the Social Question, and more than thirty articles about the Catholic Social Congress (celebrated in September of that year), the living and working conditions of workers in the countryside, working class' housing, workers' associations, patronatos, and alcoholism. By the turn of the century, Chilean press in general was less focused on doctrinal controversies; instead, it was more informative and written for a more heterogeneous society, introducing pictures and increasing classified advertisements.³⁹ On that account, the second -and brief- period of the journal (1892-1895) is, in a sense, a transition from a nineteenth-century journalistic style to a more modern one. Still, *La Revista Católica* did not turn into a mass media since it never intended to reach large and, above all, diverse audiences. It was not a journal *for* the working class as none of its articles talked *to* them but *about* them. Although covering topics to respond to the problems of a more diversified society, their target audience was still the clergy and Catholics from the elite.⁴⁰

³⁹ Carlos Ossandón and Eduardo Santa Cruz, *Entre las alas y el plomo: la gestación de la prensa moderna en Chile* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2001). Historiography dates the beginning of the modern press in Chile in 1900 when the foundation of *El Mercurio* in Santiago, the most influential newspaper until today. Ossandón y Santa Cruz, *Entre las alas y el plomo*, 23. By the end of the 1930s, *La Revista Católica* started to publish advertisement, see, for example: *LRC*, May 11, 1929, vol.56, 643-644.

⁴⁰ In 1883, Father Esteban Muñoz founded the newspaper *El Chileno* exclusively for the working class, and although it was sold in 1892 to laymen, it kept its Catholic character. The newspaper was also known as "the female cooks' newspaper" because they bought the newspaper when they went to buy groceries. Ossandón and Santa Cruz observed that *El Chileno* did not have among its writers "men of letters, lawyers, politicians" but "journalism's professionals," persons who wrote for a living. Ossandón and Santa Cruz, *Entre las alas y el plomo*, 118. An interesting analysis on who wrote in the newspaper and for whom, in María Paz Fernández, *Amor a palos: La violencia en la pareja en Santiago (1900-1920)* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2001), digital edition.

THE ARCHBISHOPS' PASTORALS

Every Archbishop of Santiago in this period -Mariano Casanova, Juan Ignacio Eyzaguirre and Crescente Errázuriz- published one pastoral regarding the Social Question specifically, in 1891, 1910 and 1921 respectively. Casanova was the only one who also wrote other pastorals about specific issues: alcoholism, Sunday rest, socialism, working class education and housing, and rural workers (in 1889, 1892, 1893, and 1905). There were other pastorals or edicts regarding socio- economic problems signed by all the bishops of the Chilean ecclesiastical province. Although I will mention them through the chapter, the focus will be on the pastorals issued by the three Archbishops. This decision is due to the role of the Archbishopric of Santiago within the Chilean Catholic Church. The Archbishop of Santiago has been always considered the head of the Chilean ecclesiastical province since being appointed Archbishop of the capital of the country was –still is- considered the highest point in the career of a Chilean priest.

Mariano Casanova. Pastoral sobre la intemperancia en la bebida, 1889.

Before the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, Chilean Catholic Church already showed its concern for social issues in a long pastoral about alcoholism in 1889. The notoriousness of this document is that although Casanova did not declare explicitly that alcoholism was a exclusively working class' problem –he even affirmed by the end of the document that drunkenness ravaged “in all the classes of the society-,” he only referred to examples from the popular class when talking about their causes and consequences.⁴¹ Casanova began by noticing that one of the worst risks of alcoholism is that it made men incapable of the use of their reason, which, of course, has been given by God. Although he recognized that alcoholism was present in every social class, he noted that the origin

⁴¹ Mariano Casanova, Pastoral sobre la intemperancia en la bebida, 1889, in Mariano Casanova, *Obras pastorales del Ilmo. y Rmo. Señor Dr. Don Mariano Casanova, Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile* (Friburgo de Brisgovia, Alemania: B. Herder, Librero-Editor Pontificio, 1901), 157-158.

of this vice was in the popular classes, “and it spreads like contagious leprosy within the different classes of our society.”⁴² What made everything worse, he concluded, is that the day people drinks the most is Sunday, the day reserved to the Lord.

Casanova then analyzed the social, religious, cognitive and physical effects of drunkenness on the individual. He observed that when a person stops thinking due to alcohol, he could commit the worst crimes, as the criminal statistics demonstrate.⁴³ Second, and one of the most serious consequences in his opinion, Casanova pointed out that in the case a man dies while he is drunk, he might do so without absolution because he was no reasonable under alcohol.⁴⁴ About the intellectual repercussions, the Archbishop noted that alcoholism could end up in “dementia or brutalization.”⁴⁵ Finally, mentioning scientific studies, Casanova warned about the illnesses –some of them mortal- that alcoholism causes like gastrointestinal, respiratory, circulatory, and dermatological diseases. He also noticed suicides are highly related to alcoholism.⁴⁶

After effects on individuals, Casanova focused on the damages alcoholism caused on families. As he will repeat in 1905 on his Pastoral about the condition of the working class, he affirms that “misery, hunger and starkness are perpetual guest at the home of the drunker worker.”⁴⁷ He also considered that drunkenness could cause divorce. Yet, he nothing said about alcoholism’s consequences on middle or high classes families.

Finally, Casanova centered on the damages of alcoholism on society. Once again, he only talked about alcoholism in the working class. Moreover, like he will do in his 1905’s pastoral as well, he affirmed alcoholism was one of the causes of poverty as it

⁴² Ibid., 139.

⁴³ Ibid., 143.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 144.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 145.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 147.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 148.

made people hate their work. He also added that drunkenness made that workers had a poor performance at work. For that, he called to political authorities to “take effective policies to stop drunkenness’ havocs,”⁴⁸ being one of the most important, to prevent the opening of bars in working class’ neighborhoods.⁴⁹

Casanova went then to comment the causes of alcoholism. He identified two causes. The first one was the bad example that children received from their fathers who got drunk in front of them. Those children will grow up, Casanova assured, thinking that drinking alcohol excessively was fine. The second reason Casanova saw was the existence and proliferation of bars or, as he called them, “corruption’s centers,” because people did not only drink there, but they also committed crimes.⁵⁰ Both factors must be faced with religion, the Archbishop stated, because “the fear of eternal punishments is the most powerful brake to the man that keep faith.”⁵¹ Filling men with this fear was the responsibility of priests, through preaching and penance. But he also recommended more practical actions. He finished the pastoral encouraging the creation of “temperance’s societies,” which might be under the administration of the “Sociedad de Obreros de San José,” a Catholic workers’ association formed in 1883.⁵² He also called again to political authorities to not support bars and “to police alcohol not be sell at least on Sundays and holidays,” as the United States and England had established.⁵³ Finally, he mandated to parish priests the reading of the pastoral to the faithful and to insist in their homilies in how urgent was to improve god habits and practice temperance.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 152.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 157.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 153.

⁵¹ Ibid., 154.

⁵² Ibid., 158.

⁵³ Ibid., 159.

Mariano Casanova. Pastoral al publicar la Encíclica de Nuestro Santísimo Padre León XIII sobre la condición de los obreros, 1891.

Of all of the pastorals that I will study in this chapter, this pastoral is the one that scholars have studied and quoted the most. However, it is the one with fewer new ideas. Casanova simply presented a summary of the main ideas of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and copied opinions about the Vatican document by European Archbishops, press and universities. However, neither historians nor theologians have observed that Casanovas' pastoral letter and the Encyclical differ in one very important point: the Chilean document stated that the *Rerum Novarum* was a very significant proposal against socialism, but it said nothing about the fact that Leo XIII recognized that the impoverishment of workers was caused by excessive capitalism: "Leo XIII makes himself heard in the middle of the social turmoil to indicate to people and governments where the only solution for the social wound of socialism is."⁵⁴ For the case of Chile, Leo XIII's words would have arrived just on time because Casanova stated in the pastoral: "Since some time ago, there are in Chile socialist manifestations that reveal the existence of unwholesome germs at the core of our people."⁵⁵ Probably thinking on the great strikes of 1890 in the north and center of Chile (cities of Arica, Iquique, Antofagasta and Valparaíso),⁵⁶ the Archbishop highlighted that

More than once we have seen workers' strikes against the factories' owners, causing damages to the industry, and depriving themselves of the salary with which they should satisfy their needs. We have seen tumultuous attacks to private property, not only in unusual situations, like strikes, but also in times in which there were not extraordinary circumstances that they could argue like excuse. We

⁵⁴ Mariano Casanova, "Pastoral que el Illmo. y Rvmo. Señor Doctor Mariano Casanova, Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile, dirige al clero y fieles al publicar la Encíclica de Nuestro Santísimo Padre León XIII sobre la condición de los obreros," in Grez-Toso (ed.), *La "Cuestión Social" En Chile*, 379.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Sergio Grez Toso, *De la regeneración del pueblo a la huelga general. Génesis y evolución histórica del movimiento popular en Chile (1810-1890)* (Santiago: Ediciones RIL, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 1997), 705-750.

have seen with sorrow and deeply sadness that socialist doctrines have spread over the daily press inciting people against the rich.⁵⁷

Chilean historiography has pointed out that the Chilean Catholic Church would have warmly welcomed *Rerum Novarum*.⁵⁸ The Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* was issued on May, 15, 1891. Mariano Casanova, Archbishop of Santiago in 1891, published his pastoral letter about the Encyclical on September 18, 1891, which is Chile Independence Day. This lag did not have to do with the national holiday, but rather with the civil war that preoccupied Chile between January and September 1891. The fight involved the Parliament against the President, José Manuel Balmaceda, who was ultimately defeated and committed suicide on September 19, the day after the end of his presidential term. Perhaps because of this upheaval, the Pastoral did not have an immediate resonance within the elite, and Casanova was very aware of this. At the end of his Pastoral, he suggested that the Encyclical's publication was "timely, in the hour of our political reorganization and social regeneration."⁵⁹

Nevertheless, Casanova made certain that both the *Rerum Novarum* and the pastoral received wide distribution. He ordered the publication of a special edition of 5,000 copies of the *Rerum Novarum*, especially to Chilean workers.⁶⁰ Both documents were published as columns also in the Catholic newspaper *El Porvenir* one week after the issuance of the pastoral.⁶¹ Although there is no information about the reading of the pamphlet or the newspaper, it is sufficient to prove the availability of the document to the

⁵⁷ Casanova, Pastoral 1891, 386.

⁵⁸ Huerta, *Catolicismo Social en Chile*. Valdivieso, *Dignidad Humana*.

⁵⁹ Casanova, Pastoral 1891, 386.

⁶⁰ *Pastoral que el Ilmo. y Rvmo. Señor Dr. D. Mariano Casanova, Arzobispo de Santiago dirige al clero y fieles al publicar la Encíclica de nuestro Santísimo Padre el Papa León XIII sobre la condición de los obreros*. Santiago: Impr. Católica de Manuel Infante, 1891. See also Marciano Barrios V., *La Iglesia en Chile. Sinopsis Histórica* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Pedagógicas Chilenas S. A., 1987), 96.

⁶¹ *El Porvenir*, September 24, 1891. Grez Toso, *La "Cuestión Social" En Chile*, 379.

public. Besides, Casanova recommended to the priests to talk about the Encyclical on their homilies at Sunday Masses.⁶²

Mariano Casanova. Pastoral sobre la santificación del domingo, 1892.

Although the focus of this pastoral was not on workers per se, Casanova did observe in the text that laborers were those mostly likely to not be permitted to observe Sunday rest. In this text, when the Archbishop spoke about the importance of not working on Sunday, it was not primarily related to workers' rights and the need to rest after working Monday through Friday; rather, his concern was that workers could not fulfill their religious obligations at Church. In other words, this pastoral shows the deep convergence of interests between the Social Question and fears of secularization. Although Leo XIII had already pointed out the importance of Sunday rest as a problem related to the Social Question, Casanova declared in the pastoral:

Habitual violation [of Sunday rest] constitutes a true practical atheism and the largest social danger because for many people religious practices on Sunday are the only relations that bond them with God and, also because, within societies, Sunday rest is the more public and general manifestation of faith.⁶³

Therefore, although Casanova stated that Sunday rest is needed for both resting the spirit and the body, he centers mostly on the religious aspects. It is when he talked about why workers could not observe Sunday rest, that Casanova made a strong criticism to the exploitation that the working class experienced.

The bishop affirmed that he was moved to issue the pastoral after noticing in his episcopal visit to the Archdioceses the inobservance of Sunday rest, and that with the document, he aimed to call attention of diocesan clergy, political authority, factory

⁶² Casanova, Pastoral 1891, 387.

⁶³ Mariano Casanova, "Pastoral sobre la santificación del domingo," 1892, in Casanova, *Obras pastorales*, 226.

heads, householders and people (pueblo) in general.⁶⁴ He started by referring in detail to the biblical origin of Sunday as a day of rest, a day for recovering both spiritual and physical strengths. Here, Casanova underlined the importance of Sunday rest for workers' families because that day was "the only day that correctly belongs to the family home, and the only day in which the worker can fulfill their family duties and enjoy its moralizing pleasures."⁶⁵ For good measure, the bishop added that science also supported Sunday rest.⁶⁶

Casanova's pastoral, however, moved beyond traditional religious arguments to address the Social Question, by framing the issue in terms of rights for the poor. Sunday rest, he wrote, is "a law of dignity and freedom for the man."⁶⁷ He criticized the greed of bosses who violate workers' liberty to fulfill religious duties by forcing them to work without rest. Interesting is that notwithstanding his strong criticism to greed, mentioning the word several times along the pastoral, there is no explicit identification of employers. Casanova never used that word or "bosses," except when he is quoting. He only says "those who." He only once says the word "patrón" but it was when talking about Christian ones.⁶⁸

The Archbishop set the alarm when pondering the consequences of not respecting Sunday rest. For example, he charged that by not observing religious obligations, workers could not learn obedience to authority, and this would lead to either respect political authority.⁶⁹ He mentions the examples of Germany, England and the United States about Sunday rest regulations in order to prevent social disturbances. He also stressed the

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 233.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 237.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 238.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 251.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 241.

sanctity of Sunday as the Sabbath day, not just a day of leisure, for people and any social class. In particular, he energetically condemned those who dedicated Sundays to satisfy “the most repugnant passions and the most shameful vices,”⁷⁰ among which he highlighted drunkenness.

The Archbishop finished recommending to parish priests to teach people not to work in factories or haciendas that did not respect Sunday rest and to form in every parish “associations of the protections of Sundays.”⁷¹ He also urged to political authorities to lead by example and not to authorize public works on Sundays, as “more than once he have seen with deeply sorrow.”⁷² The pastoral must be read in parts in every parish and chapel during Mass.

Mariano Casanova. Pastoral sobre la propaganda de doctrinas antirreligiosas y antisociales, 1893.

In this short pastoral (compared with the other four), Casanova, while reaffirming the ideas already showed on the Pastoral of 1891, centered his attention on the attacks that Catholicism suffered from those who wished to take advantage of the freedom of speech. He warned against secularization as he noted that the efforts of certain politicians for taking religion out of schools and from people in general, created the ideal context to the dissemination of socialism. This ideology, he wrote, “only disseminates where religion has lost its empire.”⁷³ Casanova continued after a long reflection about why religion is good and, in particular, he underscored the importance of priesthood within a

⁷⁰ Ibid., 249.

⁷¹ Ibid., 251, 252.

⁷² Ibid., 252.

⁷³ Mariano Casanova, “Pastoral que el Ilmo. y Rvmo. Señor Dr. D. Mariano Casanova, Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile dirige al clero y pueblo sobre la propaganda de doctrinas irreligiosas y anti-sociales,” in Grez Toso, *La “Cuestión Social” En Chile*, 401-410. The pastoral was published also in *La Revista Católica*, May 1, 1893, N° 1319, 1052-1057 and independently in *Pastoral que el Ilmo. y Rvmo. Señor Dr. D. Mariano Casanova, Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile dirige al clero y pueblo sobre la propaganda de doctrinas irreligiosas y anti-sociales* (Santiago: Imprenta de Emilio Pérez L., 1983).

society, focusing again on what he took to be the most harmful and contemporary enemy of Catholic society: socialism.⁷⁴

In this section of the pastoral, Casanova reiterated why socialism was against religion by attacking the natural –namely, established by God– inequality in which society was founded. Social inequality should not be criticized, Casanova affirmed, because it helps to satisfy the different needs of persons. In a traditional Thomistic and hierarchical society, Casanova argued, the poor had more spiritual benefits than the rich. While the elite suffered from spiritual problems, he insisted, the poor were happy with little. Their noble poverty and humility, was exemplary, Casanova pointed out, because God’s true rewards come after temporal life.

However, as the socialist propaganda in Chilean society was so intense, Casanova strongly urged priests to unceasingly preach the prohibition to Catholics of reading and circulating socialist ideas and the risk of condemnation if they supported “publications of an impious press.” As with the other pastorals, it is also unknown how this pastoral was received by the Catholic public, besides its distribution as a pamphlet and in the pages of *La Revista Católica*. But this time, Casanova did not recommend to the priests to talk about it on the Sunday mass; rather, its reading was mandatory in every parish the Sunday right after its reception.⁷⁵

Mariano Casanova. Pastoral acerca de la necesidad de mejorar la condición social del pueblo, 1905.

In the middle of a turbulent period of strikes and riots,⁷⁶ Casanova delivered a new pastoral on October 2, 1905. However, this time he did not focused on socialism;

⁷⁴ Casanova talks indistinctly of socialism and communism, although using mostly the first one.

⁷⁵ Casanova, Pastoral 1893, 410.

⁷⁶ Between 1902 and 1907 there were some episodes that due to the amount of the workers participating and the violent repression from authorities, had a substantial impact on public opinion: the general strike of Iquique (1902), the general strike of Valparaíso (1903), the “Meat’s strike” (1905), the general railway strike (1907), and the miners’ strike in Iquique and their massacre at the “Santa María de Iquique School”

rather than that, his concern was on practical problems of workers: alcoholism, housing, and education. It is also one of the few texts that gave direct attention to the social problems of workers in the countryside. The document also stands out for the writing, because it is very different from Casanova's previous pastorals on social issues. The prose is more pleasant, emotional, and full of striking references about the character of the Chilean people and, in particular, workers.

When he presented his pastoral, Casanova stated that his "urgent wish," since he was appointed Archbishop, has been "to work for the improvement of the people, which is their social, moral and economic condition, and to take effective resolutions to obtain this progress."⁷⁷ However, Casanova was aware that focusing on more practical issues made the enterprise difficult to accomplish. He therefore asked for the help of not only bishops from other dioceses, but also employers and workers: "industrials, workshops' managers, workers' associations, and specially landowners and farmers."⁷⁸ The goal was to "set up a holy and energetic crusade in favor of the people and its social progress."⁷⁹

The Archbishop was not only words. He planned a big meeting, to be gathered at the Catholic University, with emissaries from the others Chilean Bishopsrics and with representatives of urban and rural employers and workers. Every delegate had to bring ideas to solve social problems, "by illustrating the question with the result of their knowledge and experiences acquired in the intimate and direct contact with popular masses."⁸⁰ He established a steering committee of leading clergy to plan the meeting. The chair was the General Vicar of the Archbishopric, father Miguel Claro, and its members

(1907). Mario Garcés Durán, *Crisis social y motines populares en el 1900* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2003), 99-134.

⁷⁷ Mariano Casanova, "Pastoral acerca de la necesidad de mejorar la condición social del pueblo," in *LRC*, October 7, 1905, num. 101, 422.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 429.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

were the priests Miguel León Prado, Ernesto Palacios, Carlos Casanueva, and the laymen Raimundo Larraín, Manuel Foster, Juan Enrique Concha and Ricardo Cox.⁸¹ Yet, Casanova's vision did not seem to pan out. *La Revista Católica* made no mention of the commission or if the meeting was ever held. Since the journal was the official publication of the ecclesiastical hierarchy –it even published the most important decrees and memos of the Archbishopric-, the absence of any mention of the meeting indicates that the Archbishop's proposed conference to discuss the Social Question did not turn into reality. What makes more puzzling this is that Casanova's intention was indeed well known as he ordered that the Pastoral had to be read in the Cathedral and in every parish of the archdiocese the first holiday (when supposedly more people attended mass) after its reception.⁸²

Aside from the failure of the conference to materialize, the pastoral raises additional questions. Did Casanova really write the document himself or did one of his assistants write it, as some scholars have suggested?⁸³ The different writing style from his previous pastorals is noticeable. Besides, his health problems by this time -1905- make that possibility highly plausible. Manuel Antonio Román, his secretary, one of his most close assistants and also a writer, could have been the ghostwriter. Still, whoever wrote the pastoral, the document did reflect the ideas of Casanova, and more importantly, the text clearly represents the ideas of the Chilean Catholic Church at that time.

Juan Ignacio González. Pastoral sobre la Cuestión Social, 1910.

González's pastoral stands out for its clear definition of the Social Question and for being the first ecclesiastical authority that addresses directly the role of the State to

⁸¹ Ibid., 429-430.

⁸² Ibid., 430.

⁸³ Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 600. However, he does not identify which one of Casanova's assistants could have been the real writer.

face social problems. In this pastoral letter, González identified the Social Question like “the struggles between the capital and the work.” Despite this clear definition, the bishop noted that the phenomenon was “complex in its nature and difficult in its solution” and it was what most concerned to “statespersons and sociologists.”⁸⁴ The Archbishop also stated that most of the solutions proposed so far were temporary, not facing the real problem. The Catholic Church had been the only one, González continued, that had pointed out the origin of the problem and the best actions that can fix it. He aimed in the pastoral, therefore, to indicate some of these measures.

González started by highlighting the gravity of workers’ associations. In order that workers could obtain the most benefit from them, associations had to have three features: religiosity, mutuality, and financial stability.⁸⁵ González strongly recommended the *Sociedad de Obreros de San José* as a good example of this type of association and urges its expansion to the whole country and above all in the countryside.⁸⁶ The elite, the clergy, and the State, he argued, had to promote workers associations and to take an active participation on their performing.⁸⁷ But the main innovation of González was his call to justice when doing the good to the poor. While it is true that Vatican documents already had talked about justice, Casanova had not used the word explicitly. By contrast, González explained that justice, while being fruit of charity, was the best prevention of the poor’s suffering.⁸⁸ This is also related to his stance towards the State. González realized that the State should not only intervene when the relationship between the rich and the poor did not work but political authorities had also to establish policies to regulate this relation as liberalism was not enough.

⁸⁴ Juan Ignacio González, “Pastoral sobre la cuestión social,” *LRC*, May 7, 1910, num. 211, 551.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 553-555.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 560.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 556-557.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 558.

He then focused on the condition of the poor in the countryside, affirming that action in favor of the poor were more needed in rural areas due to the isolation in which peasants lived.⁸⁹ He finished warning that if the other social classes abandoned the poor, “sooner or later, we will have to bear the consequences: enormous bursts, which bring uneasiness to the social realm and discomfort to the economic order.”⁹⁰ Like Casanova, González also requested the diffusion of the Pastoral. The document, the Archbishop mandated, must be “read and explained part by part and in all the parishes” of the dioceses in the Sunday mass that was most attended.⁹¹

Crescente Errázuriz. Pastoral sobre la Acción Social, 1921.

Crescente Errázuriz issued a pastoral on Social Action in the third year of his administration. Compared with his predecessors, Errázuriz’s text presents notorious differences although the message was the same: the Social Question was a religious problem and as such, Catholic Church was the only one capable of offering a solution. Firstly, his text is less organized than the others pastorals. Errázuriz went back and forth between noticing the fairness of workers’ demands due to the bad behavior of some employers and then congratulating the actions of some of the rich laymen in favor of the poor.⁹² At the end of the text, moreover, there is no recommendation of how the pastoral should be communicated in the archdiocese, unlike Casanova and González firmly stated.

Secondly, along the text, Errázuriz appeared to give less attention to Social Question in general. Unlike Casanova and González, he did not name workers as his main concern as a pastor. Following the changes of the social Catholic thought in the Vatican that began in the 1920s to institutionalize the social works performed by the

⁸⁹ Ibid., 559.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 561.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² This made this text the most difficult to summarize of the seven pastorals studied here.

laity, Errázuriz, as the title of the pastoral shows, delegated all the Catholic social activities on Catholics of the archdiocese, although their activities should be under the direction and vigilance of the bishop. In effect, the first sentences of the pastorals went: “The Bishop cannot disregard the efforts that his clergy and laity do to improve the condition of the proletariat, to help them in their needs, to work in their solutions, and to pursue the recognition and defense of everybody’s rights, and in particular, the rights of the poor.”⁹³ This stance, allowed him to extend Catholic Action to everybody: Catholics, atheists, poor, rich, powerful, weaker because “The true Catholic action must be universal, must embrace everybody.”⁹⁴ However, this diversity sets out another problem, Errázuriz noted, which was that some Catholics might abandon the guidelines of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As seen in his biography, Errázuriz faced during his time leading the Chilean Catholic Church several problems regarding the submission to the Bishop. With this in mind, he devoted the beginning of the pastoral to detail, quoting even Popes Pius X and Benedict XV, the significance of obedience to the Bishop as the *sine qua non* of successful social action.⁹⁵

Only after these ideas, Errázuriz proceeded to discuss the problems faced by workers by stating that if believers were not united behind their pastor, the risk was a higher dissemination of “false doctrines,” which, in turn, might lead to social disturbances wherein workers might be among the most harmed.⁹⁶ While he recognized that worker’s complaints were fair most of times, Errázuriz observed that they were also sometimes exaggerated by those who wanted to win them over to cause social turmoil.⁹⁷ Like González, Errázuriz strongly spoke in favor of workers’ associations, as they “ease

⁹³ Crescente Errázuriz, “Pastoral sobre la Acción Social,” *LRC*, September 17, 1921, num. 483, 428.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 429.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 429-430.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 430.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 431

the defense and recognition of proletariat's rights."⁹⁸ These were the best way to keep the balance between the rights and the duties of workers. Nevertheless, this balance could only be achieved due to the work of faithful laymen and laywomen, who had to be careful to not blame the rich for all of the poor's suffering.⁹⁹ The efforts of elite laymen in favor of workers' rights, he suggested, also demonstrated that not all of them were bad Christians. Errázuriz identified as good examples of such groups the "Hermandad de Dolores," the Society of Saint Vincent of Paul, and the *Patronatos*. Nevertheless, he also conceded that many wealthy elites, while purporting to be good Catholics, were more interested in material goods and "do not know what the superior enjoyment of alleviate the poor is."¹⁰⁰

Finally, he returned to note the benefits of workers' associations by saying that workers can defend themselves against those bad employers only by joining together. To the latter, he recommended charity towards workers, and he criticized the excessive luxury of some of the rich, which he argued contributed to create hostility between the wealthy and the proletarian.¹⁰¹ For that, Errázuriz concluded advocating the usefulness of religion for preventing problems of the working class.¹⁰²

THE CATHOLIC CONGRESSES

The First National Eucharistic Congress, 1904

National Eucharistic Congresses started in France in the middle of the nineteenth century due to the initiative of a laywoman, Emilia Tamisier. The focus on the Eucharist aimed to emphasized the need to renew the faith in Christ to face religious ignorance and

⁹⁸ Ibid., 432.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 433.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 434.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 436.

¹⁰² Ibid., 437.

indifferentism. This meant that the devotion to the Eucharist's sacrament had to be promoted not only in Mass but also outside it, and that was why the Congresses emerged as the perfect tool for that. By the end of the century, the meetings had obtained Vatican approval.¹⁰³ In Chile, the first one was held in 1904 and responded to the main concerns of that tie within the Chilean Catholics: the Social Question. Unlike *LRC*, focus on social issues in the National Eucharistic Congresses was not constant. There was a considerable prominence on the first one, in 1904; the book published next year with the sessions and some of the papers presented, included a separated section for papers of the section of Social Works apart from the space already shared with the other three sections (Education and Teaching, Eucharistic Works and Sacerdotal Works). The Chilean Catholic Church took more than two years in the organization of the First Eucharistic Congress, which took place in Santiago between November 20- 27, 1904. The central purpose of this meeting was to “make decisions on the most propitious means for the dissemination of both worship and love for Mass; and, in consequence, to promote Christian works that pursue expand and secure the Social Reign of Jesus Christ.”¹⁰⁴

Although the edict that Casanova issued calling to the celebration of the Congress did not say anything about social issues, a summary of the event in a book published in 1905 with the minutes and some of the papers presented at the Congress emphasized that the Catholic nature of the Congress was because “one of its primary goals is to begin the organization of all the Catholic forces for the Christian social action.”¹⁰⁵ This was necessary since, as the edict indicated, “among us, there is an active, generous and

¹⁰³ José Ignacio Saranyana, *Teología en América Latina: El siglo de las teologías latinoamericanistas (1899-2001)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2002), 69-70. See also “Los Congresos Eucarísticos Internacionales,” http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pont_committees/eucharist-congr/documents/rc_committ_euchar_doc_20030409_intern-euch-congresses_sp.html. Accessed on March 15, 2016.

¹⁰⁴ *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* The edict in pages 22-24.

enthusiastic social action; many large works have been performed in the last decade, but that action still lacked unity and organization in order to obtain its greatest prosperity.”¹⁰⁶ There was also a clear criticism to how some workers’ associations functioned: “No few associations lacked, actually, that supernatural and interior spirit that make Catholic propaganda’s works fertile.”¹⁰⁷ The “Eucharistic” character of the Congress was explained as “the other primary goal, which was to give Eucharistic life to all the social works, and to gather all the Catholic forces of the country around the Mass.” Therefore, by being Catholic and Eucharistic, the Congress aimed to reach

the glorification of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the reestablishment of the external and public Christian social order. [...] Thus, he will win, finally, the fulfillment of our wishes: that Jesus, our Savior and our King, rules without counterweight in the individual, in the family and in the society.¹⁰⁸

The Congress was, in other words, the rejection of Chilean Catholic Church to state’s laicization, which could expand to the rest of society.

All the clergy was convened, even the parish priests received permission to leave their parishes to attend the Congress.¹⁰⁹ The president of the Congress was Casanova but the executive president was the General Vicar of the Archbishopric, Father Miguel Claro. General Secretary was the priest Ernesto Palacios Varas, vice-president of the Catholic University. His assistants were the priests Rafael Edwards, Heraclio Olea, and Carlos Casanueva.¹¹⁰ Held at the Catholic University, the Congress was inaugurated with a solemn Mass in the afternoon of the November 20 while their meetings started on November 22. The titles of the papers presented in every section and its presenters were:

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 3-4. Highlighted in the original.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 23.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 26-28.

Education and Teaching

Derechos de la Iglesia en la enseñanza pública, sea ésta oficial o libre.	Carlos Silva
Derechos de los padres de familia en la instrucción y educación de sus hijos.	Fr. Alberto Ugarte
Necesidad de dar a la enseñanza un fin más útil y práctico.	Abdón Cifuentes
La enseñanza de la Lengua Latina.	Fr. Gilberto Fuenzalida
El estudio de la Filosofía en las humanidades.	Fr. Martín Rücker
La enseñanza del arte cristiano.	Guillermo Subercaseux
La instrucción y educación religiosa en los colegios.	Fr. Santiago Solá
Cultivo de las Vocaciones Eclesiásticas en los establecimientos católicos de enseñanza que no sean Seminarios.	Fr. Luis Campino
Método de enseñanza más apropiados para el cultivo de la inteligencia, y medios más eficaces para la formación del carácter.	Brother Honorato
Necesidad de la unión entre los colegios católicos.	Fr. Antonio Castro
Educación de la mujer según los principios católicos	Fr. Bernardo Gentilini
Cooperación que prestan los establecimientos de enseñanza particular, primaria, secundaria y superior a la difusión de las luces.	Fr. Pedro Nolasco Neyra
Medios más eficaces para conservar la fe y la piedad en los jóvenes que salen de los colegios, como congregaciones, conferencias, etc.	Brother José Junién
Condiciones higiénicas de las escuelas y colegios. La educación física.	José Forteza

Eucharistic Works

La Santa Misa.	Fr. Juan Ignacio González
Asistencia de las escuelas a Misa.	Fr. Miguel León Prado
La Predicación Eucarística.	Dr. Augusto Royer
Estadística de comuniones.	Fr. Daniel Fuenzalida
Visitas al Santísimo Sacramento.	Fr. Lucio de Obanos
Culto del Santísimo Sacramento.	Fr. José Maubon
Conducción del Santo Viático a los enfermos.	Fr. Pedro José Infante
Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento.	Fr. José Gregorio Díaz
Adoración Nocturna.	Eduardo Edwards
Archicofradía del Jubileo Circulante.	Pacífico Giménez
La Obra de los Tabernáculos	Fr. Heraclio Olea
La Primera Comunión.	Fr. Ruperto Marchant
Algunos medios para extender más el conocimiento y amor de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo.	José Rosendo Olivares

Sacerdotal Works

Participación del Clero en la acción social.	Fr. Rafael Edwards
Obras económicas en favor del Clero.	Fr. Efraín Madariaga

De las Misiones en relación al fomento del culto de la Sagrada Eucaristía.	Fr. Francisco Ginebra
Asociaciones que pueden contribuir a la santificación del sacerdote.	Fr. Antonio de Jesús Rodríguez
Santificación y Unión del Clero.	Fr. Rafael Eyzaguirre
Modos prácticos de conducir a los niños al Santísimo Sacramento.	Fr. Vicente Seriola
Predicación en las misas dominicales.	Fr. Antonio de Jesús Rodríguez and Fr. Rafael Eyzaguirre
De la Visita de los sacerdotes a los hospitales.	José María Caro
El Servicio Religioso en las Escuelas primarias.	Fr. José Maubon
La Predicación y la Eucaristía.	Fr. Alberto Ugarte
Las Obras Parroquiales.	Fr. Manuel Tomás Mesa

Social Works

Condiciones generales de la acción Democrática Cristiana.	Fr. Rafael Edwards
Medios de propagar la buena prensa.	Fr. Enrique Degaud
La organización del trabajo en la industria urbana.	Eugenio Joannon
Vulgarización de “La Imitación de Cristo, del venerable Tomás de Kempis,” por medio de una adaptación de ella para el uso y provecho de toda clase de personas.	Fr. Rafael Edwards
La Comunión frecuente en los colegios-talleres.	Fr. Bernardo Gentilini
Oratorios festivos. Escuelas-talleres.	Fr. Ambrosio Turrícia
La desorganización de la familia es un mal social de suma trascendencia.	Luis Barros
Patronato de encarcelados.	Rafael Luis Gumucio
Los Patronatos de niñas.	Fr. Santiago Vial
Fomento de las Obras Eucarísticas en las obras sociales.	Silvestre Ochagavía
El Ahorro popular.	Arturo Ruiz de Gamboa
La Democracia Cristiana.	Fr. Francisco Ginebra
Las Habitaciones del Pueblo.	Javier Díaz Lira
La Administración de justicia y los pobres.	Javier Díaz Lira
Sociedad Obreros de San José.	Fr. Manuel Antonio Román
La Asociación de Preceptores católicos.	Brother Rafael EE. CC.
Sociedades Obreras.	Fr. Lisandro Ramírez Lastarria
Los Deberes del Patrón.	Vicente Echeverría
Los Círculos de Obreros.	Carlos Echeverría
La Eucaristía y las Obras Sociales.	Fr. Mateo Crawley-Boevey
Sociedad de San Vicente de Paul	Francisco Domínguez
La Educación Social.	Juan Enrique Concha
De la Propaganda Social.	Fr. Lisandro Ramírez Lastarria
La Iglesia en la Cuestión Social.	Fr. Clovis Montero
Legislación del Trabajo.	Alejandro Huneeus

Necesidad y medio de elevar el nivel profesional de los obreros.	Diego F. De Castro
La Prensa católica.	Fr. Carlos Silva
De los Patronatos. En qué consisten: sus ventajas; sus bases esenciales.	Fr. Carlos Casanueva
La Hermandad de Dolores.	Fr. Alejandro Larraín

Source: *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, table of contents and 630-634.

The First National Eucharistic Congress was the only one celebrated in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The next three were celebrated between 1922 and 1928. On them, the interest on the Social Question went down notoriously, centering more on spiritual issues than social-economic problems. This was mostly because Archbishop Errázuriz had a different approach to social problems than his predecessors, as I will see further in this chapter. In the note of the episcopacy calling to the Second Congress, for instance, the Chilean bishops said that they wished to organize the meeting because they had observed “very serious dangers that affect our nation, which are caused mainly by the oblivion of those Christians principles and habits that constituted the best legacy of our fathers.” Like the First one, the Second Congress, for instance, had four sections, but their subjects were very different, their name being: Sacerdotal Section, Men Section, Workers and Youth Section, and Women Section. In the section about workers, the subjects studied were: workers and the Mass with communion, the workers and the adoration to Sacramental Jesus; the Eucharist as a “source of heroism;” inner life; and worker as Eucharist’s apostle within the family and among his coworkers. In the general meeting, there was just one talk about social action delivered by Father Carlos Casanueva. In the others two congresses there was only one presentation that referred to social works by studying Catholic Action.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ *Segundo Congreso Eucarístico Nacional, celebrado en Santiago de Chile, del 3 a 10 de septiembre de 1922* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1923), 12, 100-102, 104, 160-162.

The Catholic Social Congress, 1910

As a sign of his permanent concern on the Social Question, in 1910, the Archbishop González, supported the Federación de Obras Sociales (association of laymen with the support of the Church), on the celebration of the centenary of Chilean Independence with a Catholic Congress only centered on social issues.¹¹² In the edict calling to the convening of the Congress, González declared that the purpose of the meeting was to delve into “modern society with penetrating look in order to find out the intense harm that it is experiencing.”¹¹³ Yet, the Congress focused mostly on the study on practical problems of the working class than in theoretical studies of social works. That was indeed, the goal of the Federación de Obras Sociales: to study “the imperfections that the experience had shown in our Catholic institutions”¹¹⁴ because they recognized the growth of laymen initiatives in favor of the people.¹¹⁵ As a whole, the Congress wanted to analyze “especially the practical way to perform the Catholic social action.”¹¹⁶

Held in September, from 4 to 10, two weeks before Independence’s holidays, the Congress started with a high Mass at the Cathedral of Santiago;¹¹⁷ and Father Clovis Montero delivered the homily that also served as the opening speech of the Congress.¹¹⁸ After doing a celebratory review of the first centenary of Chile’s independent history, Montero called attention to the situation of the poor by criticizing the analysis that accused the working class of being immoral and alcoholic by nature. Instead, he argued, those who made such criticism had to look into the living and working conditions of the

¹¹² “Federación de Obras Católicas,” *LRC*, January 1, 1910, vol.17, 8.

¹¹³ “Congreso Social Católico,” *LRC*, May 7, 1910, vol.18, 565.

¹¹⁴ “El centenario y los católicos,” *LRC*, February 5, 1910, vol.18, 9.

¹¹⁵ “Congreso Social Católico,” *LRC*, July 2, 1910, vol.18, 924.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 926. Exception to this approach were the studies about Christian Democracy that I will analyze in chapter 5.

¹¹⁷ “Una gran fiesta de apertura,” *El Diario Ilustrado*, September 5, 1910, 2.

¹¹⁸ González Errázuriz, *El Arzobispo del Centenario*, 300. Montero’s speech in *La Unión*, September 5, 1910, 3.

poor: “Do their critics know the housing of the poor? Do they know that social disgrace called conventillo, where they have to live, demanding an excessive rent those who are wealthy?” Under such circumstances, Fr. Montero charged, it should not be a surprise that the worker hid in alcohol.

Ah, I see here a criminal and a victim who is also guilty, but the poor is not the criminal! We have to teach him about the virtue and give him the possibility of practice it. That is our duty because God commands that the big ones had to help the small ones, the older brothers to the young brothers.

Montero warned that by not attending the poor, even politics were at risk: “Do not look down on the people because he is today the true sovereign, and they day in which he wants to make use of his authority through the suffrage, you will have to beg for his support.” He finished by calling to the union of Catholics in this crusade of “social action” in favor of the poor.

The Catholic Social Congress had five sections: social-religious, social works, education, social-economic, and propaganda. Priests were honorary presidents of the sections (except propaganda section that did not have that post) and the executive presidents were laymen, excluding, naturally, the social-religious section. This one focused on the study of the best means by which religion could increase its influence on society.¹¹⁹

The Social Works section aimed “to create the new social works that the needs of the country demand, and to unite and coordinate the Catholic social action.”¹²⁰ It had two international guests: Father Federico Grotte and Alejandro Calvo from Argentina. Among its efforts were the approval of the regulations for the Federación de Obras Sociales, establishing that the association would have five sections, under the same names that the

¹¹⁹ *Conclusiones aprobadas por la Sección “Religioso-Social” del Congreso Social Católico celebrado en Santiago de Chile en Septiembre de 1910* (Santiago: Imprenta, Enc. y Lit. “La Ilustración,” 1912).

¹²⁰ *Conclusiones aprobadas por la Sección “Obras Sociales” del Congreso Social Católico celebrado en Santiago de Chile en Septiembre de 1910* (Santiago: Imprenta, Enc. y Lit. “La Ilustración,” 1912), 5.

sections of the Congress. The section also drafted the rules of a future Temperance Society.¹²¹ Popular Education section focused on the need to expand Catholic education, not only among working class but also in the whole society since state education, on the Catholic view, was not forming students under Christian principles.¹²² Economic-social section centered only on the study of housing for the working class and on how, using the new law passed by the Parliament in 1906, to create a commercial society that could provide houses for workers' families.¹²³ Finally, Propaganda Section devoted its work to the study of how to promote pro-Catholic social information, and how to counteract anti-social and anti-Catholic propaganda. Their conclusions recommended the fulfillment of this mission through newspaper, magazines, books, pamphlets, lectures, theatre, and personal conversations.¹²⁴

The Congress had a substantial response from the public that attended the meetings of the sections and also the public ceremonies. The pictures of the opening ceremony show the streets around the Cathedral full of persons.¹²⁵ According to *LRC*, fifty thousand persons joined the final procession on September 10.¹²⁶ The festive feeling due to the proximity of the Independence celebration certainly might have contributed to

¹²¹ Ibid. The section also gave attention to two topics not related to working class' problems but to secularization. The first one was the study of the need to demands to political authorities of a law that recognized legally religious marriages. After the passing of the Lay Laws in the 1880s, which created the legal figure of the civil marriage, the Chilean Church from time to time, called attention to the importance of keeping the religious ceremony. The other topic was not related directly to secularization but its presenter was. Doctor Ernestina Pérez talked about social hygiene or public health, as it could call today. It was a very important topic having in mind the high mortality of working class children. But Ernestina Pérez is important also for being the second women in Chile (and in Latin America) to attend university, obtaining his medical degree in 1888. By then, Catholic Church objected university education of women, and devoted several articles in *El Estandarte Católico* against the decree that allowed women to enter university in 1877.

¹²² *Conclusiones aprobadas por la Sección "Educación" del Congreso Social Católico celebrado en Santiago de Chile en Septiembre de 1910* (Santiago: Imprenta, Enc. y Lit. "La Ilustración," 1912).

¹²³ "Congreso Social Católico," *LRC*, April 16, 1910, vol.18, 532.

¹²⁴ *Conclusiones aprobadas por la Sección "Propaganda" del Congreso Social Católico celebrado en Santiago de Chile en Septiembre de 1910* (Santiago: Imprenta, Enc. y Lit. "La Ilustración," 1912).

¹²⁵ *La Unión*, Santiago, September 5, 1910, 1.

¹²⁶ "Congreso Social Católico," *LRC*, April 16, 1910, vol.18, 533.

the large audience, but it was also a demonstration of the influence that the religion still had in society, despite years of the State's attempts to secularize Chilean society.

CONCLUSION

The Church modernized in terms of secularizing some of their ways of moving in the public space. By the very fact of recognizing the existence of a public space and its validity, the Church became in a modern institution. However, which was the extension of this secularization? The Church spoke using typical modern tools, but whom did they speak to? The readers of the *LRC* were Catholics from middle and high class. The *obrero* was the main actor of most of their articles, but the journal did not speak to him, it spoke about him. The pastorals, although they meant to be for everybody, certainly reached people who were close to the Church by attending Mass, reading the Catholic press, or performing social works. Besides, as *LRC* as well, did not spoke directly to the workers; rather than, the Pastorals spoke to an abstract corpus of "faithful." The most evident case were the Congresses; these reunions were also elite meetings. Despite the fact that some workers could have participated in them, it was never in a leading role as priests of laity from the high class.

In other words, the modernization process of the Chilean Catholic Church was according to Diego Portales' ideas: lower classes were not included. The Social Question represents the contradiction between theory and reality. While for the elite, the Social Question represented the terrible possibility of the end of the traditional order, for the poor, it was the symbol of injustice. The Church, although showing concern for the weakest of the society -in this case, the worker-, also represented the interest of the high class. Therefore, the modernization of the Church was within the same, small, and restrictive social group. This is not a value judgment of the Church, certainly, but it is necessary to establish from where the institution was responding to the Social Question in

order to understand better the Catholic ideas on social problems. This is the case, for example, of the Catholic definition of the Social Question, and the participation of the laity and the state on its solution, as I will study in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: The Religious Nature of the Social Question

INTRODUCTION

While the activities in favor of workers started in Chile much before the reception of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*,¹ the discourse that started in 1891 created an official account of the social problems in the view of the Catholic Church. One of the new features of this discourse was the idea that charity was not enough when facing the suffering of the working class; it was also a problem of justice.² Thus, some historians have interpreted this change as the emergence of a “modern social conscience” as if facing a modern problem -the Social Question- would have meant that the reaction were also modern.³ “Social awareness,”⁴ should not be considered as a radical change on the interpretation of the problems of and on the working class. As John Lynch correctly states about the Encyclical, “it was reaction rather than an initiative.”⁵

As I showed in the previous chapter, the Church secularized by using modern ways of communication to speak about social problems. However, its discourse will remain traditional as defining the Social Question as an eminently religious phenomenon. The argument of this chapter is to demonstrate that the religious definition of the Social Question according to the Church represented a traditional response to the social problems of the period, despite the new means to speak about it. Moreover, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Church considered the laity and the state secondary actors when facing the Social Question. However, as time went on, the “social” itself gained its own space, there was some evolution. Laity participation on the

¹ Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?*, 343.

² Krebs, *La Iglesia en América Latina*, 294.

³ Ibid., 297.

⁴ Lynch, *New Worlds*, 229.

⁵ Ibid., 230.

diverse activities to solve the Social Question made laymen to participate in politics as the role of the State was also evolving and politicians started to elaborate a new definition of the State having the social factor as central on it.

This chapter covers the time in which this evolution on laity and state participation occurred; between the final years of the nineteenth century until mid 1920s. I will study the definition of the Social Question given by the Church in *La Revista Católica*, the pastorals letters, and the Catholic Congresses studied in the previous chapter. I will also refer to the role of both laymen through the “Catholic Social Action” and how the ecclesiastical hierarchy worked hard to keep these activities separated from politics. A final section will be about the opinion of the Church on the role of the State on the solution of the social issues. Considering how much the State could intervene or not in the reconstruction of the relationship between the rich and the power also shows how much the Church secularized or not.

THE SOCIAL QUESTION OR THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR

For Chilean contemporary Catholics, Social Question was something more specific than a concern on the living and working conditions of the poor: it underscored the opposition between the rich and the poor. Although they had some differences about what caused this opposition, if capitalism or socialism was the main responsible, they shared the common fear to the disruption of the social order that the disagreement between the two social classes could provoke.⁶ The first time the Social Question with

⁶ Evidently, this was also in accordance with the Vatican guidelines, as the *Rerum Novarum* had already stated with the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in 1892. Their successors continued his ideas. For instance, in his Encyclical given to the French Bishops on 1910 condemning the “Le Sillon” movement, Pope Pius X exhorted the priest to “preach fearlessly their duties to the powerful and to the lowly; it is your unction to form the conscience of the people and of the public authorities. The Social Question will be much nearer a solution when all those concerned, less demanding as regards their respective rights, shall fulfill their duties more exactly.” Pius X, *Notre Charge Apostolique*, August 15, 1910, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius10/p10notre.htm>. Accessed on November 4, 2013.

this meaning appeared in *La Revista Católica* was in the first number of its second period, in August of 1892. There, the writer finished an article on alcoholism by saying that the best way to stop drunkenness was education, but it did not have to be only “scientific” education, it had to be religious as well. Teaching to the people exclusively practical knowledge contributed only to “arm the proletariat against the capitalist and to promote the worker question, which disturbs Europe so much and will not take too much to spread out among us.”⁷

Of the three Archbishops of the period, Juan Ignacio González presented the most delineated description of the Social Question. In his pastoral, he affirmed:

No large speculations are needed to be certain that what today is a vital problem for both the privates and public spheres, is the *Social Question*. [...]. Many remedies are recommended to heal the wounds caused by the fights between the capital and the work; there are practical methods to avoid clashes easily produced by opposite interests.⁸

He did not specify the cause of the Social Question, although he encouraged to a charitable and just behavior of employers towards workers to both avoid and solve the Social Question.

The person who most strongly identified the cause of the Social Question was González’ predecessor, Mariano Casanova. For Archbishop Casanova, there was a clear connection between the Social Question and socialism. When he presented the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, he said: “With admirable wisdom, [Pope Leo XIII] solves the difficult problem of the Social Question, which has worried in this century to nations and governments.” He points out socialism as an enormous danger that threaten to destroy the very foundations of human society. [...]. Then, he described how socialism create the hostility between rich and poor: “Light spirits are easily convinced of the apparent

⁷ “La embriaguez en Chile,” *LRC*, August 1, 1892, 632.

⁸ González, Pastoral 1910, 551.

injustice that they believe it exists in the providential fact that men that are equal in their nature, are unequal in their social condition.”⁹

Ultimately, the Chilean priests that studied the Social Question followed González’ definition, although most of them also warned about the peril of socialism if the Social Question were not faced. Following the ideas in Casanova’s Pastorals about the *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and about the anti-social doctrines in his pastoral of 1893, *LRC* published a series of articles in May, 1893, referred to socialism, anarchism and how to prevent people fell for it. Then, in 1903 and 1904 there was another series on socialism of sixteen articles. The texts are only signed with the initials “L.R.L,” which may correspond to Father Lisandro Ramírez Lastarria. His participation on the First Eucharistic Congress in 1904 in the organization of the “Social Works” section of the Congress, and his presentation in it, make the possibility very reasonable. He talked about the need to spread the knowledge of Social Economy among workers to contribute to stop dissemination of anti-social ideas. Even more, his paper was later published in 1908 under the name *Economía Social*. This publication was possible after Father Rafael Edwards and the active laymen Juan Enrique Concha wrote a positive report about it. Ramírez published a small pamphlet in 1920 about socialism that was reviewed in *LRC*.¹⁰ In 1901, in an article in *LRC* about the need of the patronatos, the author said: “Why does Social Question, the question about the relationship between rich and poor, which was unknown before, turn up today threatening?” Good habits are lost, he said; and worse, families were no longer religious.¹¹ That was the reason why, employers, on the

⁹ Casanova, Pastoral 1891, 379.

¹⁰ “El Socialismo en Chile,” *LRC*, May 1, 1893, num. 1319, 1049-1052; “La prensa irreligiosa,” *LRC*, May 6, 1893, num. 1,320, 1065-1067; Primer Congreso Eucarístico, 496 and 619-620; Lisandro Ramírez Lastarria. *Compendio popular de economía social* (Santiago: Impr. y Enc. Chile, 1908); and *Bibliografía Eclesiástica*, 239; “Socialismo y Marxismo, por L.R. Ramírez, Pbro.,” *LRC*, March 20, 1920, vol.38, 462-463.

¹¹ “Necesidad de los patronatos como complemento de la escuela,” *LRC*, December 1, 1901, vol.1, 413.

one side, began to stop obeying Christian mandates of charity and justice towards their workers. On the other side, workers started looking with anger and fury the possessions of the rich.¹²

The solution to the Social Question was in the problem itself: the relationship between rich and poor had to be restored. And in this, there was no difference of opinion among the Archbishops. This best defense to stop this imbalance, Casanova declared in 1891, was religion. He argued that the Gospel taught both rich and poor how to relate to each other. Rich had to learn to be generous and to look at the poor like they were their brothers. Poor had to learn resignation and pursue an honest job and a “good behavior.” These different lessons from the Gospel, Casanova continued following the ideas of the *Rerum Novarum*, responds to the normal inequality in society: “unequal conditions and fortunes came from the natural inequality of talents, abilities, and strengths; and it is not man’s responsibility to correct that inequality.”¹³ Besides, this inequality would demonstrate that “the equalizer doctrine of socialism is impracticable because it is against natural order.”¹⁴ Both rich and poor needed mutually:

the rich needs the poor to cultivate his lands, to extract and process the gold from his mines, to the several works in the factories, to construct his buildings, and even to prepare his food. The poor needs the rich to obtain the resources for his life through the remuneration for his job.¹⁵

¹² “¿Qué conviene más al pueblo?,” *LRC*, May 20, 1905, vol.8, 567-571. Evidently, this analysis was not exclusive of the clergy. Social tension was clear for any attentive observer. For example, the Conservative deputy Alejandro Huneeus, who also will have a prominent role in the discussion of the Sunday rest’s law project as I will show in the next chapter, warned in 1903 about the perils of not taking attention to the Social Question: “May not happen in Chile [...] what has happened in the old Europe, which was carried along by a liberal optimism and by extremely individualistic ideas, and was indifferent to workers movement; and finally awoke when all the institutions were threatened with death.” House of Representatives, session of June 13, 1903. Quoted in Juan Carlos Yáñez, “Antecedentes y evolución histórica de la legislación social de Chile entre 1906 y 1924,” *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos* 21 (1999): 206.

¹³ Casanova, Pastoral 1891, 380.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Archbishop González did not talk explicitly about the natural social inequality but when he described both “patrones” and workers, the differences between them is clear: “We have to give to the people everything what he cannot get with his own effort for getting instructed;” “we have to be paternal and loving with them.”¹⁶ It was a problem of union between different persons, not of equality. In his participation in the Social Agricultural Week, hold at the Catholic University in 1912, Father Martín Rücker said: “It is very true that the Social Question resolves with the intimate, cordial and constant union of rich and poor.”¹⁷ When praising the activities that the *Sociedad de Obreros San José* carried out in favor of the workers, the columnist of *LRC* affirmed: “He should be surprised of seen *mixed* in this association, without violence, to the rich and the poor, to the “patrón” and his workers; before the divine table all the human inequalities.”¹⁸ Unequal persons cannot be “mixed.” Accordingly, it was in the fulfillment of the solution -the restoration of a harmonious relationship between the low class and the high class- that the Chilean Catholic Social thought was still acting traditionally, despite that historiography presents Social Catholicism as part of a modern response of the Catholic Church. The fact that social works also received some times the denomination of “Catholic Social Action” could have contributed to this interpretation. In his closing speech at the First National Eucharistic Congress in 1904, its president and General Vicar of the Archbishopric, Father Miguel Claro, declared: “Our meetings [...] have shown once again the vitality of the catholic social action in our Diocese [...], and they have been a very eloquent testimony of the unswerving obedience of Catholics to their Pastor.” It was without capital letters because the Church knew how to handle the basic features

¹⁶ González, Pastoral 1910, 556, 558.

¹⁷ Martín Rücker, “La acción social en los campos,” in *Primera Semana Social Agrícola: 3 a 10 de octubre de 1913* (Santiago: Impr. Chile, 1914), 358.

¹⁸ “La Sociedad de Obreros de San José,” *LRC*, August 7, 1909, vol.17, 16. Italics are mine (“confundidos” in the original).

of the catholic social action, that is to say, laity's social works had to be under the supervision of the Bishop, but there was no formal institutionalization yet.¹⁹

THE CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION

Organization of Catholic social works in Chile received different names in the first three decades of the twentieth century before its final establishment in 1931: Catholic Social Action, Social Action, Catholic Action. The names had to do with an evolution of the scope of the purposes of the Catholic action, but the basic characteristic that remained over this time was that laity activities in favor of religion had to be under the authority of the Bishop. Pope Pius X had issued in 1905 the Encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito* to the Bishops of Italy, in which he addressed the organization under ecclesiastical aegis of "those numerous works of zeal for the good of the Church, society, and individuals under the general name of "Catholic Action."²⁰ The Social Question, although having a prominent role in it,²¹ was part of a major project that pursued the restoration of "all things in Christ."²² In other words, Catholic Social Action was a response to secularization:

The civilization of the world is Christian. The more completely Christian it is, the truer, more lasting and more productive of genuine fruit it is. On the other hand, the further it draws away from the Christian ideal, the more seriously the social order is endangered.²³

¹⁹ *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 83.

²⁰ Pius X, *Il Fermo Proposito*, *Encyclical of Pope Pius X on Catholic Action in Italy to the Bishops of Italy*, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_11061905_il-fermo-proposito.html. Accessed on August 31, 2014.

²¹ "They [Catholics working on the Catholic Action] take to heart the interests of the people, especially those of the working and agricultural classes, not only by inculcating in the hearts of everybody a true religious spirit (the only true fount of consolation among the troubles of this life) but also by endeavoring to dry their tears, to alleviate their sufferings, and to improve their economic condition by wise measures."

²² Pius X, *Il Fermo Proposito*.

²³ *Ibid.*

Certainly, Chilean Catholic Church followed the Vatican. The first steps to structure social action from ecclesiastical hierarchy came by the end of the decade. The first mention to “Catholic Social Action” in *La Revista Católica* was in the edition of March 21, 1908. In one of the few editorials signed by one of the writers of the journal, Father Rafael Edwards, affirmed that neglect of religion had affected habits, social relations, and institutions. Who suffered the most, though, was working class, Edwards noted.²⁴ To face this situation, Edwards, recalling the Pope although not mentioning him, appealed to “restore all the things in Christ.” This “Christian Social Action” had to be performed by taking social works seriously, not “like a sport and a hobby.”²⁵ He also underlined the need of discipline in social works in order that they be successful. Therefore, they had to be under the strict supervision of the Bishops in every diocese.²⁶

The next mention came in 1909, and despite *Il Fermo Proposito* referred mostly to laity initiatives, this time *LRC* emphasized on a worldlier work of priests, as they had to direct those activities in order to avoid any heterodoxy, as the Pope already had addressed in a previous Encyclical, *Graves de Communi Re*, in 1903.²⁷ Thus, on June of 1909, the Archbishop González created a new section in *LRC* called “Social Action.” Its objective was to “promote among the clergy an Apostolate that, although always practiced in the Church, never was a systematic work like it is today, which is indispensable for its effectiveness.”²⁸ As society was distancing from religion, priests had to move out from temples and confessionals, the columnist affirmed. The priest acting in

²⁴ Rafael Edwards, “La Acción Social Católica. Dos normas indispensables,” *LRC*, March 21, 1908, vol.14, 241.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 242, 243.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 244.

²⁷ I study this Encyclical with more detail in the final chapter of this dissertation about the Christian Democracy.

²⁸ “La Iglesia y la Acción Social,” *LRC*, July 1, 1909, vol.16, 816.

the middle of society, as “modern times dictated,” was called *Social Action*.²⁹ Thus, the new section would cover “the social works [performed by both clergy and laity], those we do here and those we still do not do, but that already exist in other places”³⁰ Some of the subjects covered were workers’ associations, the Catholic press, housing for the working class, labor unions, and patronatos.

While these sorts of activities were outside of their normal arena of action, priests were not aliens when performing social action. Rather, the columnist argued, priests were also members of civil society; as such, and due to their illustration and virtue, priests were “in advantageous conditions to influence in the general good of society.”³¹ Moreover, it was the clergy’s duty to perform accordingly their social mission in order that society, like a living organism, could be healthy and vigorous. Even more, given the current “social movement that operates in the world,” priest must not avoid taking participation in it.³² For that, González also decided the creation of a class called “Sociology” at the seminary in order that future priests might study “the Social Questions that agitate the world” and were prepared to “fruitfully practice the apostolate according the needs of current times.” Father Rafael Edwards was appointed teacher of the class.³³

The first time the Chilean Catholic Church talked about “Catholic Social Action” –written with the whole name and with capital letters-, was one month later, on July, 1909. when the Chilean Catholic Church incorporated special regulations about it in the “Resoluciones del Episcopado Chileno.” The document, issued by the three Bishops of

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 819.

³¹ Ibid., 818.

³² Ibid., 819.

³³ Ibid. Three years before, the course “Social Economy” started to be in taught at the Seminary. José María Caro, “El Seminario de Santiago en la centuria 1810-1910,” in *Seminario de Santiago*, 59. This study was originally published in *LRC*, September 17, 1910, vol.19, 245-265.

the Chilean ecclesiastical province,³⁴ also referred to matters of Christian Doctrine, Sacraments, Worship, Parish Priests and Clergy duties in general, Catholic instruction, and press.³⁵ As for Catholic Social Action, the bishops mandated the creation of “Centers of doctrine, propaganda and social organization” in every diocese. They also recommended that parish priests found and protect workers’ associations like the *Sociedad de Obreros San José*. The clergy realized the important tasks these institutions did by means of lectures and honest pastimes for the members and their families: “to spread among the working class the practices of virtue and order’s habits, mutual aid, temperance, and thrift.”³⁶

In May of 1910, and following the words of the Pope, Archbishop González also developed his ideas on “Catholic Action” in his Pastoral about the Social Question in 1910. He reproduced a whole paragraph of Pius X’s encyclical that detailed the objectives of the Catholic Action in its fight against “anti-Christian civilization” highlighting in italics the preoccupation for the working class: “take to heart the interests of the people, especially those of the working and agricultural classes.”³⁷ Next, he expanded on the meaning of this mission: “

What makes us to attend the working class is not only their economic on material wellbeing demands; no, our action has to be an impetus, a movement in favor of the culture that improve the condition of the poor, that instill on them the virtues of the Gospel, temperance, caution, love for their homes and the Fatherland, and a foolproof honesty.³⁸

Instruction of the working class was essential, as it prevented that workers fell under those that wanted them to believe in errors and calumnies. Thus, all Catholics in

³⁴ Juan Ignacio González (Santiago), Ramón Ángel Jara (La Serena and Ancud), and Luis Enrique Izquierdo (Concepción).

³⁵ “Resoluciones del Episcopado Chileno,” *LRC*, July 16, 1910, vol.18, 979-988.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 987.

³⁷ González, Pastoral 1910, p. 556.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

every scenario were called to the action: “the press and the Congress, the private initiative of owners and of the clergy, the mighty powerful influence of women, and all live forces of our fatherland.”³⁹

Indeed, around this time as well, laypeople organized their social activities that performed since the previous century.⁴⁰ In 1906-1907, laymen from the elite gathered around the Federación de Obras Sociales. The group, that had the authorization and support of the Archbishopric, worked on the performing and promotion of the social works performed in the diocese. The exact date of the creation of the Federación de Obras Sociales is unknown. María Antonieta Huerta said that the Federación was created in 1910; however, according to the documents published in *LRC* regarding the organization of the Catholic Social Congress celebrated that year, it is clear that the Federación existed before because the meeting was an original idea of the association, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy decided that the group was in charge of the organization of the Congress. Huerta might have mistaken the regulations of the Federación approved in the Congress with its foundation. During the preparations of the Catholic Social Congress of 1910, a columnist of *LRC* affirmed that he hoped that in the Congress “the Federation should be delineated so that it could be de core of all the catholic action.” Besides, there is record of a convention of the Federation held at the Archbishopric building in 1909. On that occasion, the President of the Federation, Raimundo Larraín, said its work started “almost three years ago.”⁴¹ The first article of its regulations established that the work of the Federación was under the direction of the Archbishop,

³⁹ Ibid., 557.

⁴⁰ Grez Toso, *De la regeneración del pueblo*, 641-654. Also Fernando Aliaga, “La Acción Católica en Chile,” in Marcial Sánchez (dir.), *Historia de la Iglesia en Chile*, vol. 4 “Una sociedad en cambio” (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2014), 233-237.

⁴¹ Huerta, *Catolicismo Social en Chile*, 319. “La Federación de Obras Católicas en el Aula Arzobispal,” *LRC*, August 7, 1909, vol.17, 75; “El Centenario y los Católicos,” *LRC*, February 5, 1910, vol.18, 9. The regulations of the Federación are in *Conclusiones aprobadas por la Sección “Obras Sociales,”* 7-12.

and the seventh and eighth articles detailed that one member of the “Diocesan Council,” which managed the Federación, had to be a priest appointed by the Archbishop and none major decision could be taken without his approval.⁴² At the Catholic Social Congress that the group organized in 1910, Father Luis Felipe Contardo presented a paper entitled “Normas de la Acción Social Católica.” The priest declared that “the Catholic Social Action must live and develop according to the teachings of the Holy See and under the direction of the Bishops.”⁴³ While Catholic Social Action could have some degree of “convenient and reasonable freedom” on the practical works of some its initiatives, in those works that dealt with spiritual and pastoral issues, the subordination to the ecclesiastical authority had to be absolute, “even in the littlest details.”⁴⁴

In 1916, the Church gave the next step in organizing the Catholic Social Action but this time under the name “Catholic Union.”⁴⁵ The new institution had to pursue the “Social Reign of Jesus Christ” by means of the “intimate union with God through supernatural life, with the Church and its Pastors through obedience, and between all their members and their beneficiaries through charity.”⁴⁶ One of the foundations of the Catholic Union observed that the social problems had their origin in

the ignorance, hatred or disdain of Jesus Christ’s teachings; the increasing dechristianization of children and youth; the sensualism and greed that invade

⁴² *Conclusiones aprobadas por la Sección “Obras Sociales,”* 7, 10.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁵ “Pastoral Colectiva del Episcopado de la República sobre la Unión Católica de Chile,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T19, 1914-1916, 583-599. The seven Bishops at that moment in Chile were: Juan Ignacio González (Santiago), Ramón Ángel Jara (La Serena), Luis Enrique Izquierdo (Concepción), Friar Pedro Armengol Valenzuela (Ancud), Luis Silva Lezaeta (Oleno, Vicar of Antofagasta), José María Caro (Milas, Vicar of Tarapacá), Rafael Edwards (Dodona, Military Vicar). The Pastoral was also published in *LRC*, which also dedicated the editorial of the number following the apparition of the Pastoral to the analysis of the document. “Pastoral Colectiva del Episcopado de la República sobre la Unión Católica de Chile,” *LRC*, May 6, 1916, Num. 354, 644-657; “La Unión Católica,” *LRC*, May 20, 1916, Num. 355, 721-725.

⁴⁶ “Estatutos de la Unión Católica de Chile,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T19, 1914-1916, 489.

everything; the disorganization of homes, [...]; and the coward apathy of many who hide their faith and betray their love for Jesus Christ.⁴⁷

Above all, the bishops emphasized, “the fundamental law of the action of Catholics” was the “obedience to the Pope.”⁴⁸ On that account, in every diocese, all laymen that worked on the Social Action had “to gathered around their Bishops in order to cooperate under his direction in the labor they do.”⁴⁹ Thus, although both laymen and clergy could be its members, the new organization had a very hierarchical organization, at the top of which there were only priests.⁵⁰ Social action was one of the three sections of the new organization (organization, propaganda, and social action), not even being in charge exclusively of working class, but also the youth in general.⁵¹ Their activities, therefore, were centered on the religious propaganda more than in activities, as the Federación de Obras Sociales did. The pastoral encouraged the diffusion of Catholicism through books, pamphlets, newspaper, magazines, “loose pieces of paper,”⁵² preaching, lectures, and personal conversations.⁵³ Despite all the detailed regulation, though, the Catholic Union did not have a long life, as the new organization did not attract priests’ interest.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ “Pastoral Colectiva del Episcopado de la República sobre la Unión Católica de Chile,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T19, 1914-1916, 585. A piece published on the occasion of the issue of the Pastoral on the Catholic Union, said: “to defend the Church does not mean to settle for the statu quo nor to keep immobile before the conquests of Radicalism but to work tirelessly to recover what we have lost.” The text was signed by “a crusader.” “Unión de los Católicos en el terreno del Ideal Cristiano,” *LRC*, August 5, 1916, vol.31, 167.

⁴⁸ “Pastoral Colectiva del Episcopado de la República sobre la Unión Católica de Chile,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T19, 1914-1916, 594.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 596.

⁵⁰ “Estatutos de la Unión Católica de Chile,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T19, 1914-1916, 490, 491.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² “Hojas sueltas” in the original in Spanish.

⁵³ “Pastoral Colectiva del Episcopado de la República sobre la Unión Católica de Chile,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T19, 1914-1916, 597. The Diocesan Council of Santiago also detailed the works of the Catholic Union in a notice published in *LRC*: “Circular de Consejo Diocesano de Santiago a los miembros de las Juntas Parroquiales en que se indica el primer trabajo de la Union Católica,” *LRC*, December 2, 1916, vol.31, 834-839.

⁵⁴ Carlos Labbé, “La Acción Social Católica,” *LRC*, November 1, 1924, vol.47, 681 and *LRC*, November 15, 1924, vol.47, 738.

The arrival of the new Archbishop Crescente Errázuriz in 1918 led to a new reorganization of the Catholic Action with a stronger control over it. In 1919, the Catholic Church established officially the Catholic Social Action in the Archdiocese. On March 14 of that year, Errázuriz created a committee that had to elaborate the regulations of the new institution: “With the purpose of unifying and giving the proper direction to all the social works that are under the ecclesiastical authority of Santiago, it is appointed a commission [...] that had to elaborate and present a project of regulations.”⁵⁵ The members of the committee were Bishop Miguel Claro (president), Father Samuel Díaz Ossa (secretary), Fathers Clovis Montero and Prudencio Contardo, and the laymen Juan Enrique Concha, Eduardo Covarrubias, Francisco Huneeus, and Alberto Cumming. This committee is important because it sheds light on the real decision to uniform the Chilean Catholic Social Action. The men that Errázuriz appointed in the committee were not novices on social issues; they all had a long commitment to social activities, some of them having been involved in such work for as much as thirty years, like Juan Enrique Concha.⁵⁶ Consequently, they needed only one month and a half to prepared the new rules, which Errázuriz approved on April 30, 1919.⁵⁷ The new regulations established that the general direction of the Social Action and propaganda of the Archdiocese was under the management of a “Comisión Directora de la Acción Social.” Among its task were:

- The management of the instruction of religion through the catechesis;
- The study and planning of the Social Action by analyzing the concordance of the already existing institutions and the new ones to the Vatican rules;

⁵⁵ “Acción Social Católica de la Arquidiócesis,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T21, 1919-1920, 102.

⁵⁶ Concha also had participated in the Catholic Union, giving a speech on its opening ceremony. “Discurso de don Juan Enrique Concha,” *LRC*, January 6, 1917, vol.32, 39-43.

⁵⁷ “Reglamento de la Acción Social de la Arquidiócesis,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T21, 1919-1920, 160-163. Also in *LRC*, June 7, 1919, vol.36, 801-804.

- The promotion of the propaganda of Catholicism and its social thought by keeping a group of specialist lectures and encouraging the creation of “Popular Libraries and Bookstores;”
- The direction, organization, and vigilance of the Female Social Action.⁵⁸

On that account, the new “Comisión Directora de la Acción Social” represented a reorganization of the Catholic Social Action, not a new beginning. In *LRC*, for example, there was no change on the coverage of the social work performed by Catholics and the clergy, they continued being published in the section “Social Action.” The director of this new commission was the Bishop Miguel Claro, who was soon replaced by the Bishop Rafael Edwards.⁵⁹ Hence, this simply made for increased control over something that already existed. The Federación de Obras Sociales, for example, lost some of its autonomy as the new rules established that both current and new institutions had to obey the new created Catholic Social Action.⁶⁰

At the same time the control over laity social works increased, the focus of the Catholic Social Action moved even more from working class issues to a wider concern on the role of religion in society in general. In the only paper about social issues in the Second National Eucharistic Congress, in 1922, Father Carlos Casanueva observed that the main aspiration of the Catholic Social Action was to “return Jesus Christ to society and society to Jesus Christ” by the defense of the four basis of the “Christian Social Order:” religion, family, education and property.⁶¹

⁵⁸ “Reglamento de la Acción Social de la Arquidiócesis,” *LRC*, June 6, 1919, vol.36, 802-803.

⁵⁹ “Acción Social Católica de la Arquidiócesis,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T21, 1919-1920, 166. With this appointment, Edwards started his work at the Catholic Social Action, whatever the institutional framework, until his death in 1938.

⁶⁰ “Reglamento de la Acción Social de la Arquidiócesis,” *LRC*, June 6, 1919, vol.36, 802, 803.

⁶¹ Carlos Casanueva, “La Eucaristía y el celo sacerdotal en la Acción Social y en las obras de propaganda,” *Segundo Congreso Eucarístico*, 160.

This mandate was even clearer the next year, 1923, when there was another reorganization of the Catholic Social Action, this time with the name “Social Union of Chilean Catholics” or just “Social Catholic Union.” Its first outline was in 1921, in a piece published in *LRC* in the “Sociology” section. The author proposed that the Social Union “should be a bond that unites, in the ample and fertile field of the Social Action, to all the Chilean Catholics, whatever their personal, social or economic conditions.”⁶² He emphasized that the new organization was a religious one, and that it should not intervene on politics, although their members could do it as citizens, but not in representation of the Union.⁶³ Neither in 1916 nor in 1919 there were explicit mentions to the need to establish an effective distance with politics. The only reference to politics was in the speech of Juan Enrique Concha at the opening ceremony of the Catholic Union in 1916. He said that the new organization “is not a political group [...], as the enemies of the religious and social doctrine of Christ have said.”⁶⁴ No references to politics neither in any of the other documents published in *LRC* or the *Boletín Eclesiástico* by this time. Father Martín Rücker gave another speech at the same ceremony and he did not refer to politics either.⁶⁵

In accordance with keeping distance with politics, the Social Union “should aim to the promotion of the study of Christian Sociology, the research of the harms that afflict modern civilization, [...] in order to apply them or promote their implementation.” It should respect the four foundations of the “Social Order”: Religion, Fatherland, Family and Law.⁶⁶ In November of 1923, Errázuriz sent a letter to Father Rafael Edwards, director of the Social Action, in which he expressed his wish of establishing the Catholic

⁶² “Unidos y... ¡A la acción!” *LRC*, May 7, 1921, vol.40, 649.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ “Discurso de don Juan Enrique Concha,” *LRC*, January 6, 1917, vol.32, 42-43.

⁶⁵ Martín Rücker, “Orientaciones prácticas sobre la Unión Católica,” *LRC*, December 2, 1916, vol.31, 840-844.

⁶⁶ “Unidos y... ¡A la acción!” *LRC*, May 7, 1921, vol.40, 649.

Social Union under his guidance. The decree in which Errázuriz granted full power and authority to Edwards is highly confusing. It is not clear if both the Catholic Social Action and the Social Union merged or not because while Errázuriz described in detail Edwards' new tasks organizing Catholic social works, for the Catholic Social Union he only said that Edwards had to represent the archbishop on the Superior Direction of the Union. *LRC* published Edwards' thankful letter in the next number and it is said that the decree specified "the powers that are responsibility of the director of the Catholic Action in order to give unity and effectiveness to his work." However, two other pieces published also in *LRC* help to clarify that the Social Action was part and under the supervision of the Catholic Social Union. In his number 529, in 1923, the journal published a letter sent from the Vatican to Edwards -identified as the "Diocesan Delegate of the Social Action-" praising the celebration of the "Social Week" organized by the "Catholic Social Union of Chile." One year later, in 1924, Father Carlos Labbé published a text in which he studied the organization that the Catholic Social Action should have according to the guidelines of the Catholic Social Union.⁶⁷

The responsibility of this evolution to a broader movement and not centered only on the Social Question, did not lie on Errázuriz, although it was he who carried out the changes. First, the Chilean Catholic Church was simply following the new dictates from the Vatican. Pope Pius XI had issued in 1922 his Encyclical *Ubi Arcano Dei* in which he defined Catholic Action as "that whole group of movements, organizations, and works so dear to Our fatherly heart."⁶⁸ However, there is no mention that these activities were

⁶⁷ The documents, in the order I mentioned them, are in: "El Illmo. y Rmo. Señor Arzobispo de Santiago y la Acción Social Católica," *LRC*, December 15, 1923, vol.45, 885-887; "Monseñor Edwards y la Acción Social," *LRC*, January 19, 1924, vol.46, 156; "La Santa Sede y la próxima Semana Social," *LRC*, August 18, 1923, vol.45, 241-243; and Carlos Labbé, "Acción Social Católica," *LRC*, December 6, 1924, vol.47, 819-825.

⁶⁸ Pius XI, *Encyclical Ubi Arcano Dei*,

solely related to the working class; it was a much broader definition. Moreover, Catholic Action was part of a larger battle that aimed to “lead souls to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to restore to the same Sacred Heart his sovereign rule over the family and over society.”⁶⁹ In Chile, the Church showed the reception of these guidelines on the Third and Fourth National Eucharistic Congresses (December 1924/January 1925 and 1928, respectively). These meetings focused more on religious matters like the mass, the communion, liturgical music, catechism, than in practical social works.⁷⁰

Second, Errázuriz’ personality fit in well with this broader definition. It is true that he was not as predisposed as González to perform social works himself. Their lives were different about it; González devoted almost all his life to social works, while Errázuriz liked the retirement and the academic life. However, Errázuriz knew social action was necessary, as he stated on his pastoral letter of 1921: “Those harms are, no doubt, big for the proletariat. Continuous increase of life in general, lack of resources, and ignorance of the needs of the poor, give them the right to fair demands.”⁷¹ But his major concern was that laymen without any kind of regulation could distance from Christian doctrine or become involved in politics: “We have sadly seen in other countries, due to theories and social works, how distinguished Catholics have abandoned the

http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_23121922_ubi-arcano-dei-consilio.html. (Accessed on November 14, 2015).

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ The Third National Eucharistic Congress, held in Concepción, city 320 miles to the south of Santiago, aimed to “make us stronger in our father’ faith.” None of the thirty-nine papers presented was about specifically social issues, all of them focused on spiritual topics. The Fourth Congress, celebrated in 1928 and held in La Serena, 292 miles to the north of Santiago, aimed to promote “the interest of Jesus in the Sacrament of the Altar.” Out of twenty-four papers presented, only the one by Fr. Jorge Fernández Pradel referred to the Catholic Action but in relation to the mass: “El amor a nuestro prójimo que Cristo inspira en la Eucaristía. Su manifestación y realización en la acción católica,” *Tercer Congreso Eucarístico Nacional, celebrado en Concepción de Chile, del 25 de diciembre de 1924 al 17 de enero de 1925* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1925), Table of contents, 20, 36; *Cuarto Congreso Eucarístico Nacional, celebrado en la ciudad de La Serena, del 14 al 16 de septiembre de 1928* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1928), 20, 190.

⁷¹ Errázuriz, Pastoral 1921, 430-431.

Church and have disdained the voice of Pastors.”⁷² That is why his pastoral on social issues was about the social action and not about the Social Question.

With documents from the Vatican Archive, historian Stephen Andes has pointed out that the Vatican considered Errázuriz the real obstacle to the definitive establishment of the Catholic Action in Chile. Bishop Rafael Edwards would have attempted during all the 1920s to found the Catholic Action but “Errázuriz had no interest in implementing Catholic Action because he saw it as a threat to his own authority.” Regarding the study of the cultural aspects of the Social Question, I think the role of Errázuriz was not determining, as I explain in the main text. Therefore, it is not relevant for this dissertation when the Catholic Action was finally established in the form that Edwards and the Vatican wanted. Besides, more sources could be considered to evaluate Edwards’ actions. Both Edwards and Errázuriz, despite being third-degree cousins, never got along well, as I mentioned in his biography in the first chapter. Also, some of the problems that Edwards had with some laity organizations were due to personality issues as well, like in the case of Clotario Blest.⁷³ Even Andes affirms that the Vatican considered Edwards’s personality was “authoritarian” and that it could explain the Vatican never appointed him Archbishop despite his qualifications. About the debate over the relationship between politics and religion, which is the focus of Andes’ work, I think the opinion of the Vatican is just that, an opinion, but it was not necessarily a fact. Errázuriz did have a strong personality and was more conservative than others within the hierarchy, but he was also a pragmatic person and was very against to clergy’s participation in politics. Well proof of that is, as I saw in his biography in the previous chapter, his pastoral letter on the Church and the political parties, issued in 1922, in which Errázuriz instructed the

⁷² Ibid., 429.

⁷³ I own this information to historian Maximiliano Salinas, one of Blest’s biographers.

clergy not to participate in political parties. He also did not allow Father Clovis Montero to accept a candidature for a post in the Parliament offered by the Conservative Party. Andes also says that Vatican authorities would wait until Errázuriz' death to finally create the Catholic Action in Chile. I think that there is more research needed in order to assure that Vatican's expectations coincided with reality. Errázuriz died in 1931, the same year than Pope Pius XI issued his Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* in which he relaunched Catholic Action. Following these two events, Catholic Action was founded in Chile. The impact the Encyclical had within the Catholic world makes difficult to think that, whoever the head of the Chilean Church was, Catholic Action would not have been, at least, restructured once again.⁷⁴

Third, and last, Errázuriz faced a challenging era of change. He arrived to the Archbishopric almost at the same time that Arturo Alessandri became President of the Republic. The politician, not linked (yet) to the historical elite in charge of the making of the Republic in the nineteenth century, had arrived to the highest political post in the country with a program of a series of radical projects such as social legislation and constitutional reform, which implied a whole social, economic and political reformulation of the country.⁷⁵ The Social Question had long demonstrated the need for structural changes, and the elite could no longer avoid it. Therefore, there was also necessary a change of the conception around the role of the State. Alessandri was the perfect context to stop the ideas' exchange and start the real transformations.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE

The historiography considers Alessandri's first presidency as the beginning of the modern Chile. He had a very different political style compared to his predecessors. He

⁷⁴ Andes, *The Vatican and Catholic Activism*, 152-154. About the Errázuriz' negative to Clovis Montero, Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz*, 210. Errázuriz' pastoral in *LRC*, December 16, 1922, vol.43, 915-919.

⁷⁵ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 207.

was the first politician from one of the traditional political parties (Liberal Party) who incorporated the masses to his speeches.⁷⁶ With rhetorical skills that today could be defined as populist, his charisma and political discourse not only attracted a new audience; it also caused fear in most of the Chilean elite.⁷⁷ Although he could not fulfill his program once he became president (or perhaps he did not maintain his enthusiasm from the campaign), and most of his promised changes were in fact accomplished by the military that took the power in the turbulent political times that started in 1924, the arrival of Alessandri to the presidency of the Republic did mark a new way to understand and to make politics.

One of these changes was the new definition of the role of the State. How much it had to intervene in society was a matter of discussion as the debate about social legislation gathered momentum. As Collier and Sater point out, “State intervention in labor matters was viewed with increasing favor among intellectuals.”⁷⁸ For example, the Conservative Alejandro Huneeus presented a paper about social legislation at the First National Eucharistic Congress in 1904. His conclusions were accepted without a change: “The State must safeguard in a special way the defense of rights and moral, intellectual, and economic interest of workers; therefore, the so-called *Social Laws* should be enacted.”⁷⁹ Although there had been legislative initiatives since the pretty beginning of the century,⁸⁰ and the Parliament had passed some laws regarding particular labor

⁷⁶ The nascent leftist political groups had, obviously, made popular classes the protagonist of their discourse. See, for example, Olga Ulianova, Manuel Loyola, and Rolando Álvarez (eds.), *1912-2102. El siglo de los comunistas chilenos* (Santiago: Instituto de Estudios Avanzados, Universidad de Santiago de Chile, 2012). Also the abundant historiographical production of historians Sergio Grez Toso, Julio Pinto, and Gabriel Salazar.

⁷⁷ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 205-206.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁷⁹ *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 620-621.

⁸⁰ Malaquías Concha's project was in 1901 and Alejandro Huneeus was in 1903. Yáñez, “Antecedentes y evolución histórica,” 206.

problems, there was not a regulation around the rights of labor as a whole -the labor code was only enacted in 1931. Such a thing required a fundamental change in the nature of the State. Political liberalism (at least in theory) and economic liberalism, both dominant in the nineteenth century, had impeded the development of an effective controller State of the production system.⁸¹ This situation, as historian Mario Góngora has demonstrated, began to change around 1915-1935, a period in which new concepts about nation and state crystallized because of, among others factors, the pressure of the Social Question.⁸²

This transformation had also reached the Chilean Church. As previously noted in this chapter, the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* only recommended that the State took action when there was some problem in the relationship between social classes, generally this meant when the lower classes needed state assistance.⁸³ Pope Leo XIII, clearly, did not considerate the State as the primary structure that defined social organization. To Leo XIII, social harmony grew out of Christian principles, not secular social legislation. The State should not act preventively because this could lead to an excessively action of State, impeding individual freedom and upsetting the natural order of social relations between the classes, which generally did not require outside intervention, least of all from the State. In fact, Casanova recommended, as the *Rerum Novarum* did as well, the formation of diverse workers' association to ensure their welfare, it was not the State the one in charge of it. And the State cannot impede the performance of these associations.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ibid., 204.

⁸² Mario Góngora, "Libertad Política y Concepto Económico de Gobierno en Chile hacia 1915-1935," *Historia* 20 (1985): 35.

⁸³ "The richer class have many ways of shielding themselves, and stand less in need of help from the State; whereas the mass of the poor have no resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly depend upon the assistance of the State. And it is for this reason that wage-earners, since they mostly belong in the mass of the needy, should be specially cared for and protected by the government." Leo XIII, 1891.

⁸⁴ Casanova, Pastoral 1891, 381.

However, when by the end of the century the increasing impoverishment of working class worsened and workers' complaints and demands increased, even violently, the Chilean Catholic Church also began to become more open to the idea of a more interventionist State. The Church's traditional discourse on charity was clearly not enough to stop the problems. In his Pastoral about alcoholism (1889), for example, Archbishop Casanova had slip in a remark about what the State could do to stop drunkenness' propagation across all the social classes: "legislators, and anyone who works in the State with the mission of promoting public interests and pursuing the social good, must create effective policies to stop alcoholism's impact."⁸⁵ It was Archbishop González, though, who directly addressed the insufficiency of the laissez-faire scheme that had ruled labor relations thus far, and that Leo XIII in his *Rerum Novarum* seemed to approve when he said that the laborer had to fulfill the work that he had been "freely and equitably agreed upon."⁸⁶ In his pastoral of 1910, González declared about the role of judges:

it is indispensable to give to the poor certain guarantees and certain assistance in order that they could defend themselves from the stronger ones, in some cases, and they could have the means to obtain what they could not obtain by themselves, in other cases.⁸⁷

González even insinuated the need of establishing a welfare state: "it is an appropriate work of a good Government, it is an action of a truly democratic Congress, to make that politics coincide on social and economic fields in which problems that matters to the working class have to be solved."⁸⁸

The most interesting Church's text about the role of the State is the one that described the plan of the Social Union in 1921, mentioned in the previous section. Its

⁸⁵ Casanova, Pastoral 1889, 152.

⁸⁶ Leo XIII, 1891.

⁸⁷ González, Pastoral 1910, 558.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

unnamed author, who was perhaps Fr. Rafael Edwards, demanded a more active role for the State regarding the Social Question, but also to keep social order in general.⁸⁹ With this, the author pointed to secular state efforts that, in the Catholic perspective, threatened Catholics freedom.⁹⁰ In the piece, the author addressed the Social Question directly, asserting that the State had a decisive role on its solution by a more active State when defending workers from abuse. “The State,” he argued, “must [...] guarantee the right of workers, preventing them to experience exploitation, and assuring them the proper retribution and conditions of safety, prevision and dignity that are due to them.”⁹¹ By the same token, the State, he cautioned, also needed to prevent the dissemination of “any unwholesome propaganda that provokes class’ struggle.”⁹²

However, despite the decisive role of the State to guarantee social unity, it was not its entire responsibility. Privates also had their job on this: “The mission of the State is not to watch and ‘allow to do,’ nor is to do by itself everything that individuals’ prosperity demands; the State has to ‘help to do,” the article’s author emphasized. He concluded

Therefore, the State has to promote private initiatives that work for the moral, intellectual and economic progress of workers; has to accept the right to assemble; and has to give legal recognition to the professional organizations in which union labors could exist,⁹³

This context could explain why, then, Catholic Church continued performing and promoting social works performed by laymen and clergy, namely, the private sector. “All

⁸⁹ It is possible that the author of the article was Father Rafael Edwards. He was already the director of the Social Action and had been as well appointed later in the Social Union. Besides, the piece was published in the section “Sociology” of *LRC*, as the class he taught at the Seminary. In addition, in 1923, Edwards authored a brief study on the importance of family for social order, subject that he also will underline in this document. However, as there is no name signing the text, I prefer not to assure that.

⁹⁰ “Unidos... ¡Y a la acción!” *LRC*, May 7, 1921, vol.40, 654.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*, 655.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

we have to look with love and interest an association that is the pride of Catholic and private initiative,” said the columnist of *LRC* when reporting the sixth assembly of the *Sociedad de Instrucción y Habitaciones para Obreros* in 1912.⁹⁴

Seven years later, the journal praised again the work of the institution in a task [working class’ housing] that demanded “that private initiatives complete the work of the government.”⁹⁵ Besides, this viewpoint -both State and Church articulating with one another but each one on its own sphere of action- shows the acceptance of the reorganization of Chilean society that separated religion from State in the public space. It was a Church that from the second half of the nineteenth century had to enter into the civil society and that also had been expanding institutionally.⁹⁶

CONCLUSION

The Church defined the Social Question as the rupture of the harmonious relationship between the low class and the high class. This breach was due to the fail to carry out the Christian duties. By defining the Social Question Chilean in this way, no mattering the modern means to say it, the Chilean Catholic Church was still acting traditionally. This is not to deny the importance of the introduction in the discourse of the idea of justice joining charity. It just makes the Catholic thought more complex and rich. It is impossible, thus, to talk of a dichotomy between tradition and modernity when talking about the Catholic Social thought. The core of this thought was immobile despite the fact that some changes regarding the participation of laity and the State on the solution of the Social Question. While some of the priests talked about rights, they did

⁹⁴ “Sexta Asamblea general de la Sociedad Instrucción y Habitaciones para Obreros,” *LRC*, January 6, 1912, vol.22, 79.

⁹⁵ “Asamblea de la Habitación Obrera, *LRC*, October 4, 1919, vol.37, 552.

⁹⁶ Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?*, 25.

not mention the State's role as the key institution that was in charge of the creation of the needed legal structure to protect workers' rights.

Certainly, the Church was not the sole responsible for the changes on the perception of the role of the State as the debate it was in the whole society and it was, even, the debate that dominated the political changes in the first three decades of the twentieth century and that resulted on the establishment of an embryonic welfare state. Within the Church, a good example was the pastoral of Archbishop González. He energetically promoted Social Action and at the same time called for a more diligent role of the State regarding social rights. Not recognizing the predominance of the State to face social issues is the part when the Church is still not secularized. This was because the Church still identified itself as the institution that regulated society, not the State. Yet, at the same time, it is under this perspective that the position of the Church can be understood as liberal in some aspects by promoting the activities of privates towards the poor. In addition, the paternalistic approach of Catholics (both clergy and laity) to the working class also makes Catholic social thought more complex. The description and analysis of the problems of the Social Question, and the solution the Church proposed, which I will do in the next chapter will show the complexity of the answers of the Church to the Social Questions.

Chapter 4: Material Help, Moral Concerns. The Church Examines the Social Question.

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this chapter is to identify the main concerns about the Social Question of the Chilean Catholic Church and its efforts and solutions promoted to face it. I will do this through the description and study of the pastoral letters issued by the Archbishops Casanova, González and Errázuriz; the official media publication of the Chilean Catholic Church, *La Revista Católica*; and the works presented at Congresses organized by the Church, all of them presented in the previous chapter. I will go into depth on how the Archbishops addressed particular issues in the documents as well as how *La Revista Católica* covered these topics. They are: alcoholism, workers' housing, and Sunday rest. Following the dictates of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, Catholic Church's main remedies to social issues were Catholic associations: patronatos, mutual workers' associations, and labor unions. A final section is about the Social Question in the countryside, which the historiography has not considered when studying the Social Question. Although there were no real changes in Chilean rural society for at least the next fifty years, the Church did show a strong concern for rural workers by the time Chile was celebrating its first one hundred years of independence.

Despite I will present the topics separately, they obviously were not isolated, and most of times they appeared in the sources within a broader context, namely, the Social Question, and specifically, the poverty in which the working class lived. Poverty, in the Catholic opinion, was the common factor of alcoholism and unsanitary housing. Poor were also who cannot observe Sunday Rest because they had to work every day. As these problems put at risk the harmonious relationship between the poor and the rich, the Catholic Church had the responsibility to maintain and reestablish the balance in society.

The solution offered was the different kinds of associations for the poor: patronatos, mutual workers' associations, and labor unions. Both the interpretation of the social problems and their solutions show the definition of the poor that the Catholic Church held as somebody that lacked the necessary agency to act like an individual and, therefore, needed the guidance of a superior, either the "patrón" or the priest.

ALCOHOLISM

As we have seen in the previous chapter, alcoholism was a central preoccupation for the ecclesiastical hierarchy even before the publication of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Almost exactly two years before the Vatican document, on May 12, 1889, Mariano Casanova devoted a whole pastoral to this issue, focusing exclusively on the problems caused by working class' alcoholism. There, he observed that "drunkenness makes deep wounds in social morality," being one of the most dangerous consequences the fact that masses "look with envy the wealth of the rich," and people became poor and hate to work.¹ He even noticed the existence of the popular "San Lunes," (Saint Monday) which was when most workers did not attend to work on Monday due to much drinking in the weekend:² "Managers' workshop daily have to close the first days of the week because there are not workers, and the farming tasks got delayed."³ In his 1905 pastoral, Casanova added to the analysis the social consequences of drunkenness. He was sad and alarmed by the excess of the consumption of alcohol within the people, fearing it to be so excessive that "the life forces of our people and their courageous characters will disappear." He also lamented that alcohol would cause "hardworking Chilean laborer that does not have rival in the world" to debilitate. Casanova identified alcoholism as a moral problem related to bad habits more than to poverty. In fact, the Archbishop argued,

¹ Casanova, Pastoral 1889, 150.

² Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 176.

³ Casanova, Pastoral 1889, 158.

poverty was most of times consequence of alcoholism –a man could lose everything because of it- but it cannot be the other way around. He wrote, “One can poorly dress, but it did not mean to dress with carelessness nor dirtiness” like the alcoholics who went over the streets with a very unhygienic aspect. This was a familiar situation which Chileans tolerated but did nothing to face it, he complained.

Casanova utilized a concept with a strong historical meaning to identify alcoholic men who wandered around the city: “We would enthusiastically delete, if we could, from our language, the humiliating phrase: *roto chileno*, with which we are identified in other countries.”⁴ “Roto,” as a representative of the lowest urban class, had a negative meaning for Casanova and for the elite in general.⁵ The joy, extroversion, and cunning (“*picardía*”) of the “roto,” the image par excellence of the Chilean popular class, when linked to alcohol, were even more denigratory. Furthermore, by the end of the nineteenth century, there was a hegemonic discourse within the Chilean elite that denounced alcoholism as a typical characteristic of popular class. “This specific portrayal made to classify alcoholic workers captures the representation of the drunk person as someone lazy and irresponsible” historian Marcos Fernández explains.⁶ This representation, Fernández concludes, was part of an elite’s discourse about popular poverty that configured the Social Question.⁷

Casanova, thus, head of the Chilean Catholic Church and a member of the elite, was not doing anything extraordinary with his diagnosis and lamentation about alcoholism in popular population. In fact, Casanova already had discussed some of these

⁴ Casanova, *Pastoral* 1905, 424. The italics are in the original.

⁵ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 12. Collier, *Making of a Republic*, 74.

⁶ Marcos Fernández Labbé, “Las puntas de un mismo lazo: Discurso y representación social del bebedor inmoderado en Chile, 1870-1930,” in Marcos Fernández et al. *Alcohol y trabajo. El alcohol y la formación de las identidades laborales. Chile siglos XIX y XX* (Osorno: Editorial Universidad de Los Lagos, 2008), 93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 94.

ideas in his pastoral in 1889.⁸ But that time he had added as well a connection between alcoholism and the danger of riots and socialism because inebriate “are always ready to theft and mugging, and are the first ones in the popular demonstrations that respond to the call of those who lead them to assault property.”⁹ He finished this pastoral letter recommending to parish priests the formation of temperance associations, and to the political authority not to protect the stores that sold alcohol and to control that, at least, they did not sell alcohol on Sundays and holidays.¹⁰ Yet, Casanova was not clear in his Pastoral of 1905 about the solutions to this very practical problem. Turning to more traditional remedies, Casanova recommended charity because this virtue can “bring about miracles.” He asked for the support of the owners of haciendas and factories but said nothing about what kind of support it would be, and concluded with a call for the implementation of “extraordinary solutions” to be carried out “without compassion,” although he did not specify anything again.¹¹ The vagueness of these demands, however, rendered them completely meaningless.

It was Casanova’s successor, Juan Ignacio González, who concretized the concern about alcoholism. Although mentioning it briefly in his pastoral letter on the Social Question in 1910, he already had started a campaign the previous year against alcoholism. In the article that presented the initiative in *LRC*, the writer criticized the bad results of the 1902’s law that aimed to regulate the sale of alcohol and to control its consumption in the population, above all in the working class.¹² The article also showed little confidence on worker’s character to prevent the excessive drinking by defining the Chilean pueblo as people “without thrift’s habits, without an economical spirit, without

⁸ Casanova, Pastoral 1889, 148.

⁹ Ibid., 150

¹⁰ Ibid., 158,159.

¹¹ Casanova, Pastoral 1905, 423.

¹² “La campaña antialcohólica del Illmo. y Rmo. Sr. Arzobispo,” *LRC*, October 16, 1909, vol.17, 427.

aspirations, [instead, they were] extravagant, and willing to have fun.” As people needed to be directed, the author promoted youth’s Christian education because the Church

can largely influence in childhood, in catechism; [...] people’s children, who will be later more exposed to alcohol, gather around these lectures. Children learn there the terrible consequences of drunkenness [...] and the examples of death due to alcohol will look more atrocious.¹³

The formation of a committee belonging to the Federación de Obras Sociales of the Archbishopric materialized the ecclesiastical initiative. The committee was in charge of working not only within the Church, but also of trying to influence the government to reform the 1902 law. In the group were laymen and priests, standing out among the last Carlos Casanueva and Rafael Edwards. On October 10, 1909, the first meeting of the committee was held in the “Honor Auditorium” at the Catholic University. Apart from the Archbishop and the committee, there were present also “a select audience of both clergy, gentleman, and Catholic workers.”¹⁴ With the presidency of the Archbishop again, the second meeting was held on November 14 at the Carlos Walker Martínez theater. The presence of workers was once again praised by *LRC*: “The spacious theatre was completely full of young men and workers, above all.”¹⁵ In both meetings, there were speeches and lectures about the perils and danger of alcoholism; laymen and priests spoke. The last presenter at the second meeting was the only one not from the elite, Ricardo Sagredo, who spoke in the name of workers’ associations. *LRC* highlighted his speech for not only observing how harmful alcoholism could be, but for also emphasizing how it affected working children: “He had very happy sentences to describe [...] some

¹³ Ibid., 429.

¹⁴ Ibid., 484.

¹⁵ Ibid., 650.

abuses of factories' owners, who hire 10-years-old children that, when they receive their salary, go to the bar to get drunk to be like adults.”¹⁶

In 1911, González relaunched his campaign by sending a notice to the parish priests of the archdiocese in which he disposed the creation of the *Sociedad de Temperancia* in every parish.¹⁷ Along with the memo, González sent copies of a pamphlet about alcoholism. In it, there were the regulations to found the association. González also requested to extend the association to “all the worker’s associations, brotherhoods, religious societies, and retreat houses.”¹⁸

The regulations -signed by the General Vicar of the Archbishopric, Martín Rücker- named Father Rafael Edwards as president of the *Asociación Católica de Temperancia* and Father Miguel Miller as vice president. There were also three council members, all laymen, who would be appointed secretary, pro-treasurer and treasurer, all appointed by the Archbishop. The association, also called “council” in the document, was in charge of installing branches in every parish, retreat house, and in any Catholic institution of the Archdiocese.¹⁹ To be accepted in the association, a person –man or woman- had to be at least seven years old and being an alcoholic was not a requirement, but if the person was an alcoholic before, he had to inform where he used to get drunk.²⁰ Members had obligations; among them were: to be member of another Catholic association; to take a pledge of temperance and renew it periodically; to wear daily the

¹⁶ Ibid., 651.

¹⁷ It was called “Sociedad de Temperancia” and not “Liga Anti-alcohólica” because, as explained in *LRC*, the last kind of groups “have not had the expected results[,] due to, no doubt, the exaggeration of condemning not only alcohol’s abuse but also its legitimate and moderate consumption.” “Asociación Católica de Temperancia.” *LRC*, February 4, 1911, vol.20, 17.

¹⁸ “Circular en que se recomienda una sociedad de Temperancia,” *LRC*, T19, 1910, 1010.

¹⁹ “Asociación católica de Temperancia. Bases,” *LRC*, January 7, 1911, vol.19, 1010.

²⁰ Ibid., 1011.

badge of the association; to profess the proper respect to the authorities of the associations; and to work tirelessly for the salvation of alcoholics.²¹

Yet, despite the efforts of the Church and the wide coverage of the topic by *LRC*, alcoholism was a larger problem. In 1918, the journal published the letters exchanged between the Archbishop González and the President of the Republic, Juan Luis Sanfuentes, in which González praised the decision of the government to create a commission to study the best way to fight alcoholism.²² The next year a long review of an English book about alcoholism was published in *LRC*.²³

WORKERS' HOUSING

Workers' housing was the second issue addressed by Casanova in his 1905 pastoral. With his somber tone, he expressed: "Our sadness grows and the shadows raise when we go into the houses or rooms of our people. They are not houses of civilized people but hovels in which untidiness and misery reside."²⁴ This description applied to both the countryside and the cities, where he criticized the conventillos in particular because although its owners obtained huge profits from renting their rooms, the buildings had very poor hygiene. In turn, this caused the spread of contagious sicknesses, of which Casanova highlighted smallpox, a present epidemic at that moment.²⁵ Like in the case of alcoholism, however, Casanova established a relation between poverty and sickness:

²¹ Ibid., 1010-1011.

²² "La campaña contra el alcoholismo," *LRC*, February 2, 1918, vol.34, 162.

²³ "Sobre Alcoholismo. Un plan práctico para una campaña antialcohólica," *LRC*, July 19, 1919, vol.37, 109-113. The book reviewed was *Vida del Padre Mateo*, by Katharine Tynan. The review, written by the priest Bernardo Gentilini, was dedicated to Martín Rücker, who was director of the Asociación Católica de Temperancia by that time.

²⁴ Casanova, Pastoral 1905, 425.

²⁵ The worst smallpox epidemic in Chile was in 1872, when 6,344 persons died in Chile, of which 4,328 were in Santiago. In 1876, 6,324 people died, and 5,710 of them were inhabitants of Santiago, which was the 4% of the total population of Santiago at that time. There were also severe smallpox outbreaks in 1898, 1903, 1904, 1905 and 1909. Claudia Droguett Díaz, *Historia del Instituto de Salud Pública de Chile, 1892-2009: Camino del bicentenario* (Santiago: ISP, 2010), 30, 31. Sergio Grez Toso, *Chile 1830/1880. Población y sociedad* (Santiago: Taurus, Fundación Mapfre, 2010), digital edition.

“among the thousands of deaths that smallpox has caused this year, there is almost no case of decent or learned people. [...]. Of all the deceased are from the people, who abuse alcohol and live in unwholesome rooms.”²⁶

With this in mind, Casanova praised the concern of the political authority about this topic: “It is a relief to see that political authorities are working to solve this public problem of workers’ housing.”²⁷ With these words, he was referring to the discussion at the Parliament of the project of the “Law of Housing for Workers,” which was enacted on February 18, 1906. The new law, known also as the first “Chilean social law,” established the creation of the Consejo de Habitaciones Obreras, which had to promote the construction of hygienic houses for workers. The law contained specific norms for the improvement or demolition of already existing unhygienic houses or buildings, and regulated the role of private companies for building new houses. It had some effectiveness on the control of conventillos, but the building of new houses was a plan more difficult to achieve.²⁸

One of the exceptions was the *Población Huemul*, a housing project of the *Caja de Crédito Hipotecario*. Built in 1911, its 166 houses²⁹ in the southwest side of Santiago constituted one of the first industrial neighborhoods in Chile.³⁰ *LRC* congratulated the official initiative in a long piece published on occasion of the inauguration of the

²⁶ Casanova, Pastoral 1905, 425. Casanova had already taken measures against smallpox’s dissemination. On May 27, 1904, he had sent a note to all the parish priests in which he ordered that on Sunday mass or “when you think is more convenient,” the priest had to encourage smallpox vaccination among the parishioners.

²⁷ Casanova, Pastoral 1905, 425. “Circular a los párrocos sobre la vacuna,” *LRC*, June 4, 1904, vol.6, 523-524.

²⁸ Rodrigo Hidalgo Dattwyler, “La política de casas baratas a principios del siglo XX. El caso chileno,” *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* 55 (2000), http://www.ub.edu.geocrit/sn_55.htm. Accessed on December 28, 2015.

²⁹ Rodrigo Hidalgo, “Vivienda social y espacio urbano en Santiago de Chile. Una mirada retrospectiva a la acción del Estado en las primeras décadas del siglo XX,” *Eure* 83 (2002): 95.

³⁰ Hidalgo, “La política de casas baratas.”

neighborhood. In a very modern piece of journalism, the author detailed the visit he did to the new complex. He describes the houses, the neighborhood, and the mechanism by which workers could become owners of the houses. On this respect, he praised the work of the *Caja de Crédito Hipotecario* for encouraging workers' thrift. Unlike conventillos, "real moral and physical sewers,"³¹ the new houses were hygienic, spacious and with abundant natural light. Yet the building features of the new houses were only the mean by which workers obtained the most relevant benefit: the reform of habits. The writer observes that by becoming owners, a worker will be "sober and laborious." By being owner, in addition, "he will be resistant to anti-social ideas he constantly receives." In addition, workers will acquire "Hygienic and cleanness habits [because] it is impossible that someone who lives in any of these new little houses of the *Población Huemul* could be untidy."³² Once again, as Casanova did when talking about alcoholism, *LRC* linked directly poverty to vices, moral problems, and even the risk of socio-political disturbances.³³

What Mariano Casanova congratulated the most in his Pastoral of 1905 were Catholic initiatives for workers' housing, which existed before the state attempts, like the *Institución León XIII*, founded in 1891 by layman Melchor Concha y Toro. This institution, Casanueva stated, had "beneficial results are already palpable [...], because their inhabitants have comforts that they did not know before."³⁴ With a council formed by three persons (an ecclesiastical representative, a member of the Concha family and a

³¹ "La Población Huemul," *LRC*, October 21, 1911, vol.21, 478.

³² *Ibid.*, 478-479.

³³ Next year, 1912, *LRC* covered the inauguration of the second complex of state working houses, the "Población Matadero," 135 houses built next to the Población Huemul. In a shorter notice, the writer described the three different types of houses and explained the payment method by which workers could acquire the houses. "Inauguración solemne de la nueva Población Matadero," *LRC*, December 7, 1912, vol.23, 1087-1088.

³⁴ Casanova, Pastoral 1905, 425.

municipal official), the institution aimed to build houses for workers and to rent them with a cheaper rate than was normal. As the state would do fifteen years later with the 1906 law, the institution planned that after some time, tenants could become property owners.³⁵ Albeit, there were requirements that workers had to fulfill which state housing did not ask for: they had to prove a behavior according to order and morality.³⁶ First twenty-seven houses were finished in 1894 and other twelve were done two years later.

The *Institución León XIII* received a strong support from the Church. In addition to Casanova's approving words,³⁷ *LRC* also applauded their work. The main piece of the edition of August 17, 1912, covered the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the institution, ceremony attended by the President of the Republic, Ramón Barros Luco. *LRC* presents a brief history of the institution, noting that "These kind of institutions [...] are powerful proof of the infinite resources that the Church has to the resolution of all the social problems."³⁸ The institution, the article concluded, set an example for the Law of 1906; therefore, "the organization deserves the honors of this victory."³⁹ One year later, the journal published a note sent by Pius X in which the Pope praised the work of the

³⁵ Rodrigo Hidalgo Dattwyler, Tomás Errázuriz Infante, and Rodrigo Booth Pinochet, "Las viviendas de la beneficencia católica en Santiago. Instituciones constructoras y efectos urbanos (1890-1920)," *Historia* 38 (2005), <http://revistahistoria.uc.cl/estudios/1332/#fnref-1332-36>. Accessed on July 17, 2015.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ In the 1905 Pastoral, Casanova also dedicates warm words to the "Población Santa Sofía." He made a mistake in the name as the institution in charge of the project was *Institución Santa Sofía* and the housing projects were "Población Mercedes Valdés" y "Población Pedro Lagos." The name was in honor of Sofía Concha, daughter of the founder of the *Institución León XIII*, Melchor Concha y Toro and who died at age fifteen. There is not a single opinion about its origin. While Hidalgo, Errázuriz and Booth say that the date of creation and its founder are unknown, maybe in the 1890s decade, in the commemorative book of the "Población León XIII," the authors affirm that her mother, Emiliana Subercaseux de Concha, founded it in 1896. There are differences also in the relationship between both institutions. Hidalgo, Errázuriz and Booth say that it is not clear if they were close or it was just that the *León XIII's* project was the only model to follow. López and Arribas do not doubt that the Santa Sofía initiative was part of the first one. See, Hidalgo, Errázuriz and Booth, "Las viviendas de la beneficencia católica en Santiago," and Hilda López Aguilar and María Inés Arribas, *Población León XIII. Pasado Presente*. Serie Barrios con Memoria, Cuadernos del Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales, Segunda Serie, N° 25 (Santiago: Ministerio de Educación, Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales, 1998).

³⁸ "Institución León XIII," *LRC*, 265, August 17, 1912, 299.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 300.

institution and the way workers could purchase the houses without neglecting their spiritual needs. This method of helping workers, the Pope concluded, was “the most according to Christian charity.”⁴⁰ Father Miguel Claro, president of the council of the institution at that time, replied to the Pope’s note, thanking the kind words and also mentioning the importance of not only giving workers “earthly comfort” but also making them deserve be called “mighty faithful sons of the Church.”⁴¹

Other institution that received ample support from the Catholic Church, and coverage from *LRC*, was the *Sociedad de Instrucción y Habitaciones para Obreros*, founded in 1904 by the future Archbishop Juan Ignacio González, the priests Juan Francisco Fresno, José Horacio Campillo and the laymen Fernando Irrázaval, Alejandro Larraín, and Pedro Infante. They aimed to create not only workers’ neighborhoods but also to give education and religious services to workers. By 1919, they had eighty houses, four educational buildings, one patronato, and a workers’ circle.⁴² *LRC* constantly published some of the ecclesiastical decrees about the institution and covered their annual meetings and ceremonies.⁴³ In 1910, the writer in charge of the “Social Action” section of *LRC* emphasized the Sociedad’s housing project because it contributed to release workers from the conventillo, which was “cause of the physical and moral degeneracy of our people.”⁴⁴ This idea was emphasized again in 1919 in a general meeting about working

⁴⁰ “La institución León XIII,” *LRC*, September 20, 1913, vol.25, 500.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 501.

⁴² Hidalgo, Errázuriz and Booth, “Las viviendas de la beneficencia católica en Santiago.”

⁴³ They are: “Instrucción y habitaciones para obreros,” *LRC*, July 21, 1906, vol.10, 889-890; “Instrucción y habitaciones para obreros,” *LRC*, August 4, 1906, vol.11, 13; “Sociedad de Instrucción y habitaciones para obreros,” *LRC*, December 15, 1906, vol.11, 783-786; “Sexta Asamblea general de la Sociedad Instrucción y Habitaciones para Obreros,” *LRC*, January 6, 1912, vol.22, 77-79 and “Bodas de Plata. Memoria de la Sociedad de Instrucción y Habitaciones para Obreros presentada por el Director General de la Sociedad, Monseñor José Horacio Campillo, a la Asamblea General, celebrada en el Liceo José Miguel Infante, el 15 de Diciembre de 1929,” *LRC*, December 28, 1929, vol.57, 1091-1097.

⁴⁴ “Sociedad de Instrucción y habitaciones para obreros,” *LRC*, April 16, 1910, vol.18, 456.

class' housing.⁴⁵ *LRC* reproduced part of Juan Enrique Concha's speech, senator and member of the Council of the *Institución León XIII*, who called attention over the terrible consequences of deficient housing on workers' material and spiritual well-being: "The first social necessity of Chile is the improvement of popular housing because it is evident that the bad room is the cause of the destruction and demoralization of families."⁴⁶ Same opinion was shared in the first National Eucharistic Congress in 1904. There, the debate around housing was part of the Section of Social Works. In its third session, on November 23, Javier Díaz, presented a study about worker housing.⁴⁷ Although he recommended that both private industry and the State had to take action on this, he also concluded that any initiative would not be successful if workers did not become sufficiently educated to take advantage of them.⁴⁸ Two days later, in his conclusions of his study on the need of labor legislation, the congressman Alejandro Huneeus affirmed that promoting working class' housing also served "to respect the Christian constitution of family."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ In the text published in *LRC* about it, there is not clarity if it was an activity only of the Sociedad or if it was a big meeting of Catholic initiatives. "Crónica," *LRC*, October 4, 1919, vol.37, 552.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Javier Díaz Lira (1881-1954) was a lawyer, member of the Conservative Party and a very active layman regarding social works. His thesis in Law School was *Observaciones sobre la cuestión social en Chile*. He worked as a mining lawyer and also in the "Inspección de Instrucción Primaria" of the Ministry of Instruction. He also was one of the main editors of Catholic newspaper *El Diario Popular* (1902-1909). As an interesting prosopographical note, his wife and Father Rafael Edwards were cousins. See Juan Carlos Yáñez Andrade, *La intervención social en Chile y el nacimiento de la sociedad salarial, 1907-1932* (Santiago: RIL Editores, 2008), 323. Virgilio Figueroa, *Diccionario histórico, biográfico y bibliográfico de Chile*, vol. II (Santiago: Impr. y Litogr. La Ilustración, 1928), vol. 2, 573; Julio Heise González, *Historia de Chile. El período parlamentario 1861-1925*. Vol. 1 (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1974), 345. For the genealogical data, www.genealog.cl

⁴⁸ *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 610.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 621. As Javier Díaz, the Conservative Alejandro Huneeus (1874-1935) was also an active layman on social works. He was a congressman between 1903 and 1915, being member of the Commission on Social Legislation from 1912 to 1915. He participated on several social organizations like the Casa de Huérfanos, the Centro de Educación Cristiana, La Buena Prensa, and the Consejo de Beneficencia de Santiago. Finally, he was a strong promoter of the Sunday Rest law as I will see in the next section. http://historiapolitica.bcn.cl/resenas_parlamentarias/wiki/Alejandro_Huneeus_Garc%C3%ADa_Huidobro

At the Catholic Social Congress in 1910, working housing was also a central concern, being the only topic studied in the “Economic-social” section. However, it seems their resolutions did not concretize. According to *LRC*, the members of the section decided to create a “Sociedad Comercial de Habitaciones” called “La Paz Social.” However, there is no mention to their works in the journal or in other Catholic publications in the next years.⁵⁰ The project was similar to the already functioning *Institución León XIII*, and *Sociedad de Instrucción y Habitaciones para Obreros*, including both the material improvement of workers’ living conditions and “to promote thrift and to perfect people’s habits.”⁵¹

SUNDAY REST

Archbishop Mariano Casanova argued in his pastoral about Sunday rest in 1892 that respecting it was a matter of dignity and freedom for workers. “What is the man that works on a continuous job without any break to rest?” he asked. His lapidary answer: “He is a slave condemned to a life sentence.”⁵² Never mentioning the employers, Casanova only talked of “those who” or “the greed” that “exploited in their own benefit the sweat of the poor.”⁵³ Casanova asserted that respecting Sunday rest meant to respect freedom of belief. Although he did not explicitly talks about Catholicism, Casanova did not seem to

⁵⁰ The only sources found so far is the article published in *LRC* about the Catholic Social Congress with a brief description of every section. Every section also published their conclusion as a pamphlet. However, the only one inexistent at Chilean libraries is the one from the economic-social section. Another source is the speech of Julio Pérez del Canto, “Las Sociedades Cooperativas de Ahorros y Préstamos para construcción de habitaciones obreros. Al Congreso Social Católico,” *El Mercurio*, September 4, 1910, 3. Pérez already had published a study in 1898, *Las habitaciones para obreros: estudio presentado a la Sociedad de Fomento Fabril*. Santiago: Ercilla, 1898. Having his paper published also in the newspaper *El Mercurio* might be because in 1910 he was appointed financial writer there. Pérez del Canto (1867-1953) was an economist, worked in the business association “Sociedad de Fomento Fabril,” in the newspaper *El Mercurio*, and also held diplomatic posts in Central America. Virgilio Figueroa, *Diccionario histórico*, vol. IV-V, 490.

⁵¹ “Congreso Social Católico,” *LRC*, October 1, 1910, vol.19, 530.

⁵² Casanova, Pastoral 1892, 239.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

mean with this freedom the liberty to choose any religion; rather, he means freedom to practice Catholicism: “Those who lead by greed and make this oppression seems to forget that workers have a soul and an immortal fate that they have to keep while on earth.”⁵⁴ The risk of this was that workers’ faith, by being ignorant of God, would disappear and, by not respecting God, it would be easy that they will not respect authorities.⁵⁵

In the countryside, Casanova observed, this problem was not as serious as the physical difference between peasants and urban workers demonstrated.⁵⁶ Yet, Sunday was not only a time for resting the body, it was also the day to get Christian instruction, Casanova affirmed. Quoting the French liberal Catholic Charles de Mont Alembert, the Archbishop noted that ignorance is the worst enemy of people, since workers cannot learn about his duties and rights, and cannot heard the “doctrine that teaches to respect religion and customs.”⁵⁷

Despite Casanova’s concern in 1892, the interest for Sunday rest’s legislation in the Parliament only appeared in 1901 when the project for labor legislation presented by Malaquías Concha, deputy of the Radical party, included it. In August 1903 and June 1904, additionally, there were public demonstrations from workers’ associations of Santiago and Valparaíso that demanded a Sunday rest law.⁵⁸ During the 1903 movement, in August 4, the Conservative deputy Alejandro Huneeus presented a law’s project about it. Using the word “sanctification” for the need to not to work on Sunday, Huneeus talked about the religious origin of Sunday rest and pointed out that Sunday rest had been also encouraged by Pope Leo XIII. In other words, he followed the main arguments of

⁵⁴ Ibid., 240.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 241.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 238.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 240.

⁵⁸ Yáñez, *La Intervención Social en Chile*, 146.

Casanova's Pastoral. But he also added that Sunday rest was an employers' duty of justice and charity.⁵⁹ On occasion of Huneeus' project, *LRC* published a long piece that reproduced some parts of Casanova's pastoral. The editor praised the motion and observed the importance of having such a "civil law" because Sunday rest is already established by "ecclesiastical and natural law."⁶⁰ The author also noted that "From any place of the Republic, a shout of approval and praise has risen."⁶¹

In 1904 as well, there was a presentation about sanctification of holidays in the *First National Eucharistic Congress*. Presented in the fifth session of the "Eucharistic Works" Section on November 25 by Juan Walker Martínez, the members of the section approved the paper unanimously.⁶² Among its fifteen conclusions, there were three about specifically Sunday rest. The first one says that Catholics should promote that the government and the Parliament approve Sunday rest law according to the third Commandment.⁶³ The second one suggested not supporting businesses that worked on holidays or Sunday without needing it. A public record book would be held at churches in which storekeepers, *hacendados*, workshops' chiefs and laborers that promised to observe Sunday rest could sign.⁶⁴ The last conclusion proposed to found a Catholic association responsible for carrying out the firsts two conclusions. To do this, the

⁵⁹ "Moción del Señor Alejandro Huneeus. Fecha 04 de agosto de 1903. Cuenta en Sesión 44. Legislatura Ordinaria 1903. A Comisión de Constitución, Legislación y Justicia," in Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, *Historia de la Ley N° 1.990 Sobre descanso de un día en la semana*, pdf file available at www.bcn.cl, 5.

⁶⁰ "El descanso dominical," *LRC*, September 19, 1903, vol.5, 243.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Juan Walker Martínez (1847-1921) was a Conservative politician, deputy from 1885 to 1888. He participated in the War of the Pacific against Peru and Bolivia in the 1880s. He also was against President Balmaceda in the Civil War in 1891 and for this, the government ordered his exile. Later, he worked as manager of the potable water at the Municipality of Santiago and collaborated in the press of the capital. He was also a business man and philanthropist.

http://historiapolitica.bcn.cl/resenas_parlamentarias/wiki/Juan_Ashley_Walker_Mart%C3%ADnez

⁶³ *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 439.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 439-440.

association could support the work of other groups no mattering if these were not Catholics.⁶⁵

In 1905 and 1907, *LRC* published the regulations about Sunday rest enacted in Spain and the United States.⁶⁶ In this last publication, the editor said that he hoped that “those who say that only in declining countries Sundays are observed” could note this.⁶⁷ Eventually, the Parliament passed the law in 1907. Promulgated on August, 29, the law stipulated that “any kind of business, private or public, [...] will give one day to rest to workers that have worked all working days.” This order was mandatory and inalienable for women and minors less than sixteen years old. Apart of one day per week -Sunday was not mandatory-, workers should rest also on January 1, September 18 and 19 (Independence holidays), and December 25. The fine for not obeying the law had to be paid to the municipality and any person could denounce the violation of the law.⁶⁸

Surprisingly, *LRC* only reproduced the law and made no comment about it.⁶⁹ Why such little interest? Perhaps because Sunday rest was one of the social laws that created less conflict since there was consensus within the Parliament about the need of such normative. For example, during the discussion in the House of Representative, the Radical Malaquías Concha declared:

The Pope Leo XIII, who, as everybody knows, has been called ‘The Pope of the Workers’ [...], recommends Sunday rest in his notable encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Will we reject Sunday rest, that is so beneficial for humanity, only

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 441.

⁶⁶ “Ley de Descanso dominical en España,” *LRC*, July 30, 1904, vol.7, 58-59; “Reglamento para la aplicación de la Ley de 3 de Marzo de 1904 sobre el descanso en domingo,” *LRC*, January 7, 1905, vol.7, 813-818; and “El descanso dominical en los Estados Unidos,” *LRC*, March 4, 1905, vol.8, 234-235.

⁶⁷ “El descanso dominical en los Estados Unidos,” *LRC*, T8, 1905, 234.

⁶⁸ Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, *Historia de la Ley N° 1.990*, 95-96.

⁶⁹ “El Descanso Dominical,” *LRC*, October 5, 1907, vol.13, 393-394.

because it comes from the Pope, or the conservative party, or from the Christian Democracy, or whatever its name is? No, we will not.⁷⁰

Besides Huneeus' project, there were others two very similar projects to the conservative agenda. Deputy José Román Leiva, from the Democratic Party, presented his initiative on August 19, two weeks after Huneeus. Four months later, on January 19, 1904, Radical deputies Ramón Corbalán Melgarejo and Ramón Carvallo presented a similar motion arguing that "hygienic, moral, and social reasons, advise and impose rest to the men after six consecutive days of work."⁷¹ Only in 1923, *LRC* again mentioned Sunday rest, when supporting the petition of the Intendant of Santiago to reform the law approved on 1907 and to assure its observance.⁷²

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATIONS

One of the main initiatives promoted from the Vatican to face Social Question were Catholic associations, either formed by high class' elite to benefit workers or formed by workers to pursue their own benefit. "Associations of every kind, and especially those of working men, are now far more common than heretofore," said Pope Leo XIII in his Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. He also warned that some of these associations were not good because "they do their utmost to get within their grasp the whole field of labor, and force working men either to join them or to starve." He recommends to Christian workingmen "forming associations among themselves and uniting their forces."⁷³ As seen in the overview of the Encyclical, the Pope recommended three kinds of associations: patronatos for children and the youth, mutual benefit associations, and workingmen's unions. In Chile, the Catholic Church encouraged all of

⁷⁰ Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, *Historia de la Ley N° 1.990 Sobre descanso de un día en la semana*, pdf file available at www.bcn.cl, 39.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁷² "Descanso dominical," *LRC*, September 19, 1925, vol.49, 476-477.

⁷³ Leo XIII, 1891.

them at some point between 1901 and 1931. Labor unions, for example, are only studied in *LRC* and not in the pastorals or Congresses. In addition, as I will see next, while the interest over patronatos and workers' associations is constant from 1901 to 1931, interest for unions started in 1911 mainly with articles by the Jesuit Jorge Fernández Pradel and Father Guillermo Viviani.

Patronatos

On his last pastoral about social problems, in 1905, Archbishop Casanova emphasized the importance of children and youth education. At school, they learn not only moral and religious principles, but also to be good republicans.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, he continued, it was not enough as anti-religious doctrines were rapidly disseminating between laborers. It was then when patronatos came to compensate for it. Originated in the mid-nineteenth century in France thanks to the work of the Society of Saint Vincent of Paul, patronatos were institutions that aimed to give education to children and youth's working class after elementary school. Although the Society administrated them, high school's students from the high classes of society were in charge of the daily functioning of the institution. In Chile, the first patronato was established in 1890 based on the already existing *Círculo de Obreros de Santo Domingo* and after the boost of active layman Francisco de Borja Echeverría.⁷⁵ Under the protection of Saint Philomena, the *Patronato de Santa Filomena* was also the most important and acknowledged of such

⁷⁴ Casanova, Pastoral 1905, 426.

⁷⁵ The creation, connection to the Society of Saint Vincent of Paul, and performing of the Patronato de Santa Filomena is well studied in the biography of Monsignor Carlos Casanueva, chaplain and the best promoter of the Patronato. Hevia, *El Rector de los Milagros*, 38-50. A brief summary also in Fernando Aliaga Rojas, *Itinerario histórico*, 21-27. For a primary account, Casanueva's memories about his years at the Patronato are the best. Carlos Casanueva, *El Patronato de Santa Filomena. Recuerdos Íntimos* (Santiago: Imprenta La Gratitude Nacional, 1921).

institutions in Chile. In his 1905 pastoral, Archbishop Casanova mentioned it as the best example of practical teaching for young workers in Chile.⁷⁶

LRC also devoted many pages to highlight the benefit of patronatos. Just starting its third period, there are two pieces signed by “Raphael, presbítero”⁷⁷ about the need of patronatos as complement of school and how patronatos accomplished their mission.⁷⁸ The author began by pointing out that his text arose from the petition of the directors (in plural) of *LRC* to publish studies about social works, and in particular about patronatos and workers’ circles.⁷⁹ In his first text, Father Raphael aimed to “demonstrated the insufficiency of the Catholic elementary school in the education of the young worker,” and how all the efforts made in elementary school to “instill faith and morality in the child are lost when he, at age of twelve or fourteen, abandons the school to learn a trade.”⁸⁰ He observed that working class family did not exist in Chile because parents were incapable of fulfilling their duties as educators since they did not have enough “intellectual culture” nor “moral prestige” to set the example to their children, wasting most of their spare time drinking alcohol.⁸¹ Elementary school, for its part, was not enough either, since the time that children spent there was too short; therefore, they had to start working at a very young age. This caused that young workers were not

⁷⁶ Casanova, Pastoral 1905, 427. Others patronatos were: Patronato de Andacollo, Patronato de San Isidro, Patronato de San Alfonso, Patronato del Sagrado Corazón, Patronato de Santa Teresa. Hevia says that between 1890 and 1909 eleven patronatos were founded, although she does not refer their names. Hevia, *El Rector de los Milagros*, 42-43. Aliaga, *Itinerario histórico*, 25. *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 100.

⁷⁷ There are no more references about the authorship of the piece, although Fernando Aliaga makes sure it was Father Rafael Edwards. This is very likely. Recently ordained, in March of 1901, Edwards published other pieces about social issues in *LRC* in this period and had also translated into Spanish other texts regarding the Social Question, like the work of Giuseppe Toniolo about Christian Democracy, which I will study in detail in the last chapter of this dissertation.

⁷⁸ “Necesidad de los patronatos como complemento de la escuela,” *LRC*, December 1, 1901, vol.1, 413-417. “De los grandes medios con que el Patronato realiza su fin,” *LRC*, August 16, 1902, vol.3, 92-95.

⁷⁹ “Necesidad de los patronatos como complemento de la escuela,” 413.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 414.

participating in Catholic workers' associations as before; rather, they chose secular societies.

The author develops an idea of society organization according to the principles settled in colonial times in which persons were born into their class and change in social position was difficult. Social stratification' ideas were the norm within the elite, as it was well assured after independence by those in charge of the making of the new republic.⁸² In fact, Father Raphael observed an important role of the "patrón" in the material and moral comfort of working children, role even more relevant than school's duties: "the main reason of elementary school's deficiency is that it cannot, and never will be able to, replace "patrón's" duties of moral and material protection towards the worker child."⁸³

Despite of the political discourse about popular sovereignty, promises of equality had their nuances in Chile. *Pueblo*, meaning the entire society, was a rhetorical tool for political organization purposes, but when it had to be turn into reality, duties and rights were not the same for everybody.⁸⁴ Education was a good proof of that. Primary education was for everybody, secondary education for those who would become active citizens (voters), and university only for those who would work toward the building of the Republic. For the pueblo, then, only primary education was essential. Almost one hundred years after independence, this thought continued. While the author recognized that working children are due to poverty, he does not question child labor: "The poor child, as soon as he reaches thirteen or fourteen, leaves elementary school. The same poverty forces him to do that."⁸⁵

⁸² Gabriel Salazar and Julio Pinto, *Historia contemporánea de Chile II. Actores, Identidad y movimiento* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1999), 55, 99. Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 25, 42, 331.

⁸³ "Necesidad de los patronatos como complemento de la escuela," 415.

⁸⁴ Collier, *Making of a Republic*, 18.

⁸⁵ "Necesidad de los patronatos como complemento de la escuela," 415. Emphasis in the original.

As in the case of the texts about alcoholism and workers housing, poverty, in the pages of LRC, is also related to moral disorder: “The rich child has a home that helps him not to get lost. The poor child only sees, in the small room that is all his house, the bad examples of his father, and even sometimes, of his mother.”⁸⁶ In this context, patronatos were crucial as they represented “the complete intellectual and moral education of the young worker that leaves school,”⁸⁷ preventing, youth from being attracted to irreligious and socialist ideas. In his second text, published almost one year later, Father Raphael details the means by which patronatos achieved this twofold purpose: catechism and religious lectures every Sunday where the young workers will remember the religious instruction received in elementary school.⁸⁸

Between Edwards’ pieces, there was a long text by Father Carlos Casanueva.⁸⁹ The also newly priest had worked at the *Patronato Santa Filomena* since his years in high school (the Jesuit *Colegio de San Ignacio*), and immediately after his ordination in 1900 he was appointed chaplain of the patronato. The long text promoted the work of the patronato and aimed to appeal to the generosity of Catholics to support it.⁹⁰

Summarizing in two lines the diagnosis of the Social Question according to the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, Casanueva started by recognizing that workers’ suffering was caused by “passions without any kind of break;” thus, laborers became easily trapped in “dissolvent doctrines” which disseminated among them.⁹¹ He also followed the Vatican text on the solution: charity, stating that the best charitable work was Christian

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ “De los grandes medios con que el Patronato realiza su fin,” 92.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 94.

⁸⁹ The piece had to be published in two parts. “Una obra urgente de caridad,” *LRC*, February 15, 1902, vol. 2, 73-78 and March 1, 1902, vol. 2, 151-161.

⁹⁰ In a note after the text, Casanueva gave the addresses of the President of the Patronato, Juan Enrique Concha, and of Casanueva himself in order to those who “were interested in this charity, so important and so urgent, can request information or send alms.” Ibid., 161.

⁹¹ “Una obra urgente de caridad,” *LRC*, February 15, 1902, vol. 2, 74.

education. Casanueva claimed that it was a difficult time for Christian instruction because, he hypothesized, society did not appreciate its importance, or perhaps viewed it as the enemy of laicization.

The rest of his text is to arguing why he considered patronatos were necessary and to describe the functioning of the *Patronato de Santa Filomena*. What it is important for this research is Casanueva's approach. As Father Raphael, Casanueva also represented the ideal of social immobility. He assumed that after elementary school, for the working class, there was the workshop.⁹² Patronatos were necessary because after primary school the "son of the worker"⁹³ had to continue his training towards the factory. They were also the best tool to keep working class' youth away from impiety, socialism, anarchism,⁹⁴ lust, and drunkenness.⁹⁵ Casanueva never made an explicit declaration of these ideas because what he described was accepted as normal. At the end of primary education, when "the child" was 13 or 14 years old,

he goes to the workshop. His definitive education will be set here forever. Along with learning his job with which he will carve out his economic wellbeing, he will get, without he even noticing it, many of the ideas that will become ingrained in his mind; [...]; he will receive at the same time much of those feelings, habits, and customs that will constitute his moral life.⁹⁶

Casanueva had also occasion to explain his ideas and to promote the work of the *Patronato Santa Filomena* in his participation at the First National Eucharistic Congress. He was appointed secretary of the Section of Social Works of the Congress and presented a paper entitled "De los Patronatos. En qué consisten sus ventajas; sus bases esenciales." He argued that among all the social works, the patronato was the most complete because

⁹² Ibid., 77.

⁹³ Ibid., 76.

⁹⁴ "Una obra urgente de caridad," *LRC*, March 1, 1902, vol. 2, 154.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 156.

⁹⁶ "Una obra urgente de caridad," *LRC*, February 15, 1902, vol. 2, 77.

it benefited not only workers, but also the rich and society as a whole. For the elite, the patronato was “the most complete and beneficial social school” because the work in favor of the poor “inspires in the rich the love for the poor and the very habit of charity.”⁹⁷ Therefore, society obtained social peace by the “charitable union of opposite classes.”⁹⁷ The priest also identified three conditions for a well operation of patronatos: deep Christian spirit, autonomy of their authorities, and a comfortable, large, and own building. He concluded by proposing to work on the consolidation of the already existing patronatos instead of creating new ones by the creation of a “Council of the Patronatos.”⁹⁸

Although it seems this last idea did not to materialize given that there is no trace of it in *LRC*, Chilean Catholic Church continued promoting patronatos in the first three decades of the twentieth century. From time to time, there were pieces in *LRC* describing graduation ceremonies or the inauguration of some building, in which the editor took the opportunity to expand on the benefits of such institutions.⁹⁹ In 1931, Archbishop Errázuriz sent a thank you note to the *Patronato de San Filomena* that had saluted him for his twelfth anniversary leading the Archdiocese of Santiago. In the letter, the priest affirmed that “Here it is one of the most admirable institutions of Chile, it is one of the worthier of appreciation and protection of society!”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 624.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 625.

⁹⁹ For example: “Patronato de Santa Filomena,” *LRC*, October 4, 1902, vol.3, 318-319; “El Patronato del Sagrado Corazón,” *LRC*, October 15, 1910, vol.19, 602-606; “Bendición y colocación de la piedra del nuevo edificio del Patronato de los Sagrados Corazones,” *LRC*, December 16, 1911, vol.21, 871-873; “En el Patronato de Santa Teresa,” *LRC*, January 6, 1912, vol.22, 76-77; “En el Patronato de San Isidro,” *LRC*, November 2, 1912, vol.23, 853-857.

¹⁰⁰ “El Arzobispo y el Patronato de Santa Filomena,” *LRC*, February 21, 1931, vol.60, 141.

Workers' Associations

Of the three Archbishops of the period, Juan Ignacio González is who devoted more analysis to associations in his pastoral about the Social Question in 1910. He argued that despite of being important for everybody and having a great development in society in general -nations associated each other through international pacts, for example-, associations were even more necessary for workers. “How many honest, intelligent and laborious artisans do live without hope of improving their condition, only because they are isolated?”¹⁰¹ Paraphrasing the Pope, the Archbishop noted that some associations only wanted to harm workers and, thus, Christian associations were indispensable. For a good performance, he identified three basic characteristics of them: faith, broad mutuality, and financial stability.

He began by explaining that experience confirmed the need of Catholic character of the associations. The risk of an irreligious association was twofold. First, there was the peril of secularization: “History of workers’ associations in Chile frequently teaches us that of all those institutions whose regulations forbid to talk about religious issues, take their members away from everything that means faith or pious practices.”¹⁰² This was also the concern in *LRC*. When explaining the benefits of the *Sociedad de Instrucción y Habitaciones para obreros*, it is said:

The spirit of sociability spreads more and more every day in the worker; our newspapers had entire columns of mutual assistance societies, sport societies, and if Catholics do not form them too, workers will look for them in secular societies, which in most cases will do bad to workers because they sow religious indifference in their hearts, to turn them later to the hate and class’ struggle.¹⁰³

Second, Catholicism was fundamental in any association because workers should not gather only to pursue material benefit. If so, the risk was that individual interest could

¹⁰¹ González, Pastoral 1910, 552.

¹⁰² Ibid., 553.

¹⁰³ “Sociedad de Instrucción y Habitaciones para obreros,” *LRC*, May 7, 1910, vol.18, 570.

separate laborers from one another. Self-interest, envy, hate, and ambition would prevent existence of charity and justice.¹⁰⁴

Wide mutuality was also crucial because, González argued, workers should support each other in case of sickness and old age. He was very specific to explain the functioning of mutual societies to face these two situations through the incorporation fee, the monthly membership fee, and the mortuary fee.¹⁰⁵ Financial stability, therefore, was vital as well. For that, directors' associations should not offer something they could not fulfill, and workers should not ask disproportionately either. Finally, he recommended that the best for stability be for associations to have their own building because "property guarantees solvency." He finished by detailing the financial mechanisms by which an association could gather money in order to purchase a property.¹⁰⁶

By the end of his pastoral, González mentioned the *Sociedad de Obreros San José* (*SOSJ*) as the perfect example of a worker association and wished the group could expand to the whole country. The special mention was due to the role González had in the origin and the further development of this association. He was part of the group of priests who founded the *SOSJ* in 1883 under the original idea of Father Hilario Fernández who wanted to prevent workers to leave Catholicism by organizing monthly retreats for them.¹⁰⁷ The association aimed, firstly, to keep religiosity of their members and, in a second place, to look after the material needs of them. The Auxiliary Archbishop of Santiago, Joaquín Larraín Gandarillas gave his final approbation to the Society in 1885 and the same year the Pope Leo XIII sent his benediction.¹⁰⁸ According to the book to

¹⁰⁴ González, Pastoral 1910, 554.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 555.

¹⁰⁷ The other priests involved in the foundation of the association were Alejandro Larraín y Miguel León. *Cincuentenario de la Sociedad de Obreros de San José* (Santiago: Impr. La Gratitude Nacional, 1933), 20.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

commemorate its fifth anniversary, the society reached more than twenty thousand members in the Archdiocese of Santiago.¹⁰⁹ Their spiritual activities focused on retreats every second Sunday of the month, when also workers gathered to attend Mass, doctrinal lectures, recite the Saint Rosary and the Stations of the Cross, and finished with the benediction of the Holy Sacrament.¹¹⁰ Through diverse kinds of fees, like González detailed in his Pastoral, the *SOSJ* covered the material needs of its members.¹¹¹ There were also initiatives that combined both purposes. For instance, in a note the General Vicar Martín Rücker sent in 1911 to parish priests, he instructed to create sections in charge of thrift and temperance within their branches of the *SOSJ*.¹¹²

The branches in every parish depended of the General Board of Directors, which, in turn, responded to the Executive Committee. In a reform adopted in 1911, the directors decided as well to give a more patriotic nature to the group by adopting the colors of the national flag in the society's insignia, commemorating Independence Day -September 18- and renovating the Board of Directors every year on that holiday. The priests also organized "popular parties" for workers and their families in order to keep them away from other non-religious associations. One of the most important of these activities was the "Festivity of the Christian Work." An original idea of Father Hilario Fernández as well, this tradition started in 1889¹¹³ and aimed to give lectures to the workers about the

¹⁰⁹ In 1917, there were 6,131 active members in the whole country, except Santiago. The number did not consider those members who had not paid their fees. "Sociedad de San José," *LRC*, December 1, 1917, vol.33, 818.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21. The retreats congregated more than one thousands workers, according to *LRC*. "Obreros de San José," *LRC*, May 17, 1902, vol.2, 415; "Los 'Obreros de San José,'" *LRC*, May 20, 1905, vol.8, 624. The retreat of May, 1918, congregated 700 members of the *SOSJ*. "Sociedad de San José," *LRC*, July 6, 1918, vol.35, 6.

¹¹¹ "La Sociedad de Obreros de San José," *LRC*, August 7, 1909, vol.17, 18.

¹¹² "Circular a los párrocos sobre la Sociedad de Obreros de San José," *LRC*, August 19, 1911, vol.21, 104-105.

¹¹³ Cincuentenario de la Sociedad de Obreros de San José, 21. In his speech at the celebration of 1903, the General director, Father José Horacio Campillo said that the festivity started to be celebrated in "five years ago," namely, 1898. "Solemn assembly of the members of San José," *LRC*, May 16, 1903, vol.4, 521.

importance of the work by some of the “main leaders of that time in the social field” such as Carlos Walker Martínez, Abdón Cifuentes and Domingo Fernández Concha.¹¹⁴ There also were singing and theatrical performances by workers and their families around moral issues.¹¹⁵

The vast activities of the *SOSJ* and the fact that González was one of its founders were not the only reasons to the strong encouragement. Between 1891 and 1902, the future Archbishop was the general director of the institution and then he was part of the board of directors.¹¹⁶ In his pastoral, the Archbishop highlighted that the society was the association that “tends more directly to the sanctification of workers.” He also detailed the qualities of the association that he considered the most relevant: their retreats and the study of Saint Joseph that workers did. He encouraged to parish priests where it was already established a branch to contribute to the society, and to help to found a new branch in those parishes that did not have one yet. In particular, he asked to landowners to install branches in their properties if there was none one close.¹¹⁷

In the last paragraph dedicated to the *SOSJ*, González seemed to recognize that the society should not have all the attention: “we do not believe that the *Sociedad de Obreros San José* is an obstacle to the development of others workers’ institutions that are less strict on religious practices. [...]. Rather, we believe that both complement each other.”¹¹⁸ But, eventually, the society became the official workers’ association of the Archdiocese of Santiago under the administration of González, although it seems there

¹¹⁴ *Cincuentenario de la Sociedad de Obreros de San José*, 21.

¹¹⁵ “La fiesta del Trabajo Cristiano,” *LRC*, May 20, 1905, vol.8, 717.

¹¹⁶ For his designation as general director, González Errázuriz, *El Arzobispo del Centenario*, 42. For his renunciation due to health reasons, “Sociedad de obreros de San José,” *LRC*, February 1, 1902, vol.2, 4. He returned as a one of the six directors of the association some months later in the same year 1902, *LRC*, T2, 1902, 513.

¹¹⁷ González, Pastoral 1910, 560.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

was not an official statement about this recognition. The first mention of this new status appeared in April of 1911 in another note to the parishes of the Archdiocese signed by the General Vicar Martín Rücker, instructing the priests to support the activities of the *SOSJ*. In the document, the priest announced: “The *Sociedad ‘Obreros de San José’* has been several times declared by the Archbishop the official society of the Archdiocese of Santiago.” It was not a hidden favoritism, as *LRC* recognized: “We can safely say that it has been his favorite work.”¹¹⁹ He even presided over some of the meetings of the *SOSJ* while he was already Archbishop.¹²⁰

Sure enough, the prominence of the *SOSJ* for the Chilean Catholic Church on *LRC* was evident. Indeed, it was the Catholic association that received most attention on the pages of the journal. There are more than thirty publications about the *SOSJ* between 1902 and 1928, mostly notes and decrees of the Archbishopric about its functioning, the minutes of its meetings, and coverage about activities carried out and special celebrations. For example, on April of 1911 there is a piece about the creation of the “general secretary” of the society as its growth made necessary to have an office in charge of holding and coordinating the information of all the branches.¹²¹ In all of them, there were also words to boost the *SOSJ* and to promote its support. In 1909, for instance, *LRC* covered the activities of the branch of Melipilla -a small village forty-four miles to the west of Santiago- and finished saying: “May every societies of San José [...] imitate the respectable example of enthusiasm, of Christian expansion, and of reciprocal union of Melipilla’s workers, led by their active and zealous parish priests.”¹²²

¹¹⁹ “La Sociedad de Obreros de San José,” *LRC*, August 7, 1909, vol.17, 17.

¹²⁰ “Sociedad ‘Obreros de San José,’” *LRC*, September 2, 1916, vol.31, 393; “Sesión de la Junta de la Sociedad de San José,” *LRC*, May 19, 1917, vol.32, 716.

¹²¹ “Sociedad de ‘Obreros de San José,’” *LRC*, May 6, 1911, vol.20, 565.

¹²² “Los Obreros de San José en Melipilla,” *LRC*, October 16, 1909, vol.17, 485.

As in the previously social issues studied, the goal of getting workers away from poverty was due to the belief that, for the Church, poverty was equivalent to moral degeneration without the leading of the Church. In 1903, for the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the *SOSJ*, its general director Miguel León Prado said:

This institution not only gives material benefits to their members [...]. It has also the very superior mission of moralizing the worker, making him sober and laborious, taking him away from the most degrading vices, educating him under the wise principles of the Gospel.¹²³

Even more, there was no confidence in the workers' character at all: "Perhaps, nowhere the worker is more uneconomical than among us [Chile]. He is driven to waste in vices, to which he is naturally inclined."¹²⁴

Certainly, the appreciation for the *SOSJ* was evident also at the First National Eucharistic Congress in 1904. Father Manuel Antonio Román, director of *LRC*, presented a paper about the *SOSJ* in which he congratulated the spiritual and material benefit their members received and recommended to employers in the city and the countryside to hire workers who were members of the *SOSJ*.¹²⁵ More broadly, the priest Lisandro Ramírez Lastarria talked about workers' associations in general. He argued that they were "the most appropriate and safest means to reform working class" and that laborers might be able to defend their interests and to pursue their "fair demands."¹²⁶ He suggested that the best of these associations were those that gathered both employers and workers, creating "parallel" labor unions.¹²⁷

¹²³ "Solemne Asamblea de los Socios de San José," *LRC*, May 16, 1903, vol.4, 522.

¹²⁴ "La Sociedad de Obreros de San José," *LRC*, August 7, 1909, vol.17, 18.

¹²⁵ *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 612, 613.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 613.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 581.

Labor Unions

Lisandro Ramírez' presentation in 1904 was one of the first times that the word "unions" was used in an ecclesiastical paper, although with this slight difference that the usage in this context also extended to include employers. While the minutes of the session in which his presentation was voted said that his conclusions were approved,¹²⁸ the final publication of the conclusions did not include any mention to unions.¹²⁹ Other word used with some resemblance to unions was "guild" like in medieval times.¹³⁰ In the same Congress, the priest José Gregorio Díaz presented a paper entitled "Archbrotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament." In it, he called attention to the need to open Catholic workers' associations to the material needs of their members, and not to focus only on the spiritual side as it had been so far. By concentrating exclusively on the spiritual needs, he warned, Catholic associations had not grown as much as secular associations.¹³¹ Also, in his presentation about the need of organizing Catholic activities on holidays for the working class' youth that attended school-workshops to prevent they attended socialist parties, father Ambrosio Turricia proposed that the students might be incorporated to a guild of Christian workers right after they graduated from workshops.¹³²

At *LRC*, the attention started just around the centenary of the Chilean independence. In an explanation that recalled Father Díaz' words at the First National Eucharistic Congress, the author of an article about the *SOSJ* said in 1909: "Why are there no guilds in the Sociedad de Obreros San José if it is so numerous? Or, if there are, why are they unimportant as if they did not exist? In our opinion[,] one of the reasons is

¹²⁸ Ibid., 500.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 613.

¹³⁰ I will use "guild" when the original word in Spanish is "gremio," and "union" or "labor union" when the original is "sindicato."

¹³¹ *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 377

¹³² Ibid., 603.

the distrust towards guilds due to the results of socialist guilds.”¹³³ Many workers, he added, had left the *SOSJ* in order to join “democratic societies,” which did have organized unions.¹³⁴

The other reason, though not admitted directly by the authors here, was the political implications of some of the statements, which could be called proto-corporatist, having important consequences in the further evolution of Chilean political parties. In fact, some priests who devoted to the formation of labor unions in the 1920s would be very close to corporatism, as I will see next. By the 1930s, corporatism would be a real alternative, although not finally chosen, for the young members of the Conservative party from which they eventually separated and created a new party, the Christian Democracy. This would be of enormous prominence in Chilean politics in the second half of the twentieth century.¹³⁵ Secondly, corporatism would continue being an important ideology for some groups of the Chilean right wing.¹³⁶

Still, despite unions did not were part of the official ecclesiastical documents, Archbishop González supported in 1914 the creation of three unions: the drivers’ union, the brewery workers’ union, and the seamstresses’ union called “La Aguja.”¹³⁷ These were initiatives of the Jesuit Fernando Vives before his second exile.¹³⁸ Also, *LRC* did devote attention to unions starting the second decade of the twentieth century. In the first article devoted entirely to the study of unions, from 1911, the connection between unions

¹³³ “La Sociedad de Obreros de San José,” *LRC*, August 7, 1909, vol.17, 19.

¹³⁴ The author also noted two other reasons for the poor development of unions: the lack of workshops’ bosses participating in the *SOSJ*, which caused workers of the society were not as good laborers as the “indifferent or socialist worker,” who got instructed by the State; and the lack of an own property where to hold the workers’ meetings. *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ See chapter six of this dissertation about Christian Democracy.

¹³⁶ Sofía Correa, “El corporatismo como expresión política del socialcristianismo,” *Teología y Vida* 49 (2008): 467-481.

¹³⁷ *Seminario de Santiago*, 213.

¹³⁸ Alberto Hurtado, *Sindicalismo. Historia, teoría, práctica* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1950), 233. Also Araneda, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 667.

and corporatism was clear. The Jesuit Jorge Fernández Pradel, classmate of Vives at the Jesuit novitiate in Argentina- sent from Europe a series of three articles about how to face social problems. The first two of these “social reflections” as he called them, centered on the Catholic Action, and the last one was about unions. In this, he affirmed that although workers’ associations had benefited laborers, they were not enough. In his words, “guilds and corporations” were the perfect options for the progress of Christian society because “The spirit of association [...] is as natural within the very constitution of society as when the sons of the same father gather in just one house to constitute one family.”¹³⁹

Taking the ideas of the forefather of corporatism, Albert de Mun, Fernández suggested the “corporatist reorganization” of society in order to stop socialism and achieve a benefic and solid social organization.¹⁴⁰ Praising the example of Dutch Catholics, Fernández proposed that the ongoing *SOSJ*, among other associations, could serve as a basis for the professional organization. He emphasized that keeping the Catholic nature of the unions was crucial; the fact that they declared themselves as neutral was not enough. Neutrality made them easier fall under the influence of socialism.¹⁴¹

Despite being in his second ostracism in Europe, *LRC* published in 1926 a piece by Father Fernando Vives, who wrote from Europe about the benefits of union stockholders. Although not referring to the political application of syndicalism, Vives focused on the benefits for society of workers’ participation in the ownership of a factory. He mentioned the examples of Spain, Belgium, France, Germany, and above all, Italy, where he praised the role of Mussolini and fascism in allowing Italian workers to start

¹³⁹ “Reflexiones sociales. Organización profesional,” *LRC*, December 2, 1911, vol.21, 733.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 733, 734,

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 735.

buying industries through stocks and shares.¹⁴² Vives promoted this system because, in his opinion, since being a stockholder in a factory was not the same than taking part in its administration, it was a pacific way to incorporate workers, contrarily to socialism.¹⁴³

Notwithstanding, the most detailed article would come in 1919 by Father Guillermo Viviani, who carried out a strong work forming Catholic unions, as seen in his biography.¹⁴⁴ He defined syndicalism as a reaction against the abolition of guilds following the French Revolution and as a “tendency to reorganize guilds according the needs and progress of the current times.”¹⁴⁵ Viviani identified three types of syndicalism: the one formed by employers and workers (“Sindicalismo patronal o mixto”), the one organized by socialists (“Sindicato rojo”), and the Catholic unions (“Sindicatos blancos o de paz social”). Despite its supposedly noble origins –in employers defending their industries from socialist influence by creating their own unions- Viviani was not a supporter of the first kind of unions. He considered that the social and economic distance between employers and workers was too vast for they getting along. He also did not have a good opinion of entrepreneurs because they considered salaries as part of the expenses of the production of the factory. These associations only would increase the hate between rich and poor because employers would consider workers’ demands exaggerated, and workers would not feel the necessary freedom to discuss their claims.¹⁴⁶

Socialist unions, on the other corner, were also harmful for society and Viviani rejected them categorically. Although he recognized that these groups grew out of worker exploitation and that their demonstrations had gained benefits for workers, their only

¹⁴² “El accionariado sindical,” *LRC*, July 3, 1926, vol.51, 58.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 59,

¹⁴⁴ See chapter one.

¹⁴⁵ “El Sindicalismo. Sindicatos patronales o mixtos, sindicatos rojos o socialistas y sindicatos blancos o católicos,” *LRC*, November 1, 1919, vol.37, 661.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 662.

purpose, he argued, was to destroy society to create a new one where there were no bosses.¹⁴⁷ In his opinion, the only thing that socialist unions did successfully was to organize strikes, which most of them performed in a very violent way.¹⁴⁸ Finally, while Viviani rejected the socialists' attack to capital and property rights, he was aware that in Chile there were vast lands unexploited and suggested that the State should expropriate and give them to people who did cultivate them.¹⁴⁹

In the last section of his article, Viviani pronounced that Catholic unions were the only associations that genuinely could enhance workers' condition. His words summarize the diagnosis of the Social Question as stated in the *Rerum Novarum* that emphasized the harm of before than socialism:

Catholic workers have seen and experienced people's misery. They have known all the injustices of present times, the exploitation against the weakest ones, and the fantastic enrichment of the richest ones. They have understood that capitalism, with colossal gears and being anonymous in representation of progress, triturates multitudes and reduces them to misery and to the most horrible moral deterioration. Therefore, they have faced the hierarchical organization of capitalists with the egalitarian organization of workers.

These unions, Viviani continued, were a "legitimate defense against possible abuses" but they were also to the "moral promotion of workers." He concluded that

Catholic syndicalism, as a legacy of twenty centuries of civilization and culture, identifies the existence of God and, thus, of eternal happiness or tragedy, and recognizes that the man never will be completely happy while on earth, this is reserved for the afterlife only to those who lived courageously serving their fellows.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 663.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 664, 665.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 664. Although he did not go into depth on this subject, focusing instead in why the State should not become owner of the land, his statement about confiscating properties in order to obtain a better production is an early indication of one of the most important issues in Chilean politics in the second half of the twentieth century.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 665.

Viviani was one of the priests that went into depth on the relation between labor unions and politics. After the description of the kinds of unions, he recommended that, workers unions should take the direction of factories, and then, the State had to be professionally organized as well. In this way, he also proposed, universal suffrage should be replaced by corporatist suffrage. That would be, Viviani concluded, the only path to follow given that morality of Catholic workers was the guarantee of both general well-being and respect for everybody's rights.¹⁵¹

The journal also lent its pages to a worker to publish a piece about unions. Juan Ignacio Valenzuela was a labor unionist of a painter's trade union and also member of the "Casa del Pueblo,"¹⁵² a worker center created in 1917 by Bishop Miguel Claro and directed by Father Guillermo Viviani to promote Catholic unions.¹⁵³ In the text, Valenzuela examined briefly the history of unions since the formation of guilds during Middle Ages until the beginning of the twentieth century and blamed their disappearance in the eighteenth century to secularization and liberalism. Valenzuela described the three kind of unions already studied by Viviani in 1919 and indicated that the only legitimate successors of the medieval guilds were Catholic unions.¹⁵⁴

Although these detailed studies, there was no more attention in *LRC* to other initiatives on labor unions, despite Viviani articles and Valenzuela's piece. Catholic unions starting to increase its number since the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century, representing by 1927 around 72% of Catholic workers associations, although most of them were not affiliated to the Church but they did declare its Catholic

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 666, 668.

¹⁵² Mónica Echeverría, *Clotario Blest, anti-historia de un luchador*. Digital edition. <http://www.blest.eu/biblio/echeverria/cap6.html>. Accessed on August 5, 2015.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Juan Ignacio Valenzuela, "La Asociación Profesional Obrera," *LRC*, April 3, 1920, vol.38, 506-511.

character.¹⁵⁵ In addition, elite women's Catholic groups actively helped to found women's unions.¹⁵⁶ In their impressive research -although sadly never published- about Catholic unions, Núñez and Vivanco observed a change in the interest of the ecclesiastical hierarchy towards Catholic unions organizations in the 1920s by created big confederations of Catholic labor unions in order to distance them from any political influence as some of the priests reviewed above had proposed. The objective was also to increase the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the organizations. Thus, in 1921, the Catholic Church founded the *Federación Chilena del Trabajo* and in 1923, the *Confederación de Sindicatos*.¹⁵⁷

Nevertheless, this new interest on labor unions did not turn into an increase on the coverage from *LRC*. There was just a small mention to the creation of the Federación in 1921 in the news section, celebrating the project and highlighting that the new person in charge of the group was the director of the Catholic Social Action, Bishop Rafael Edwards, who "aimed to reorganize this important deed."¹⁵⁸ The appearance on the scene of Edwards seems to demonstrate that the purpose of the Catholic Church was assuring the control of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Besides, the *Confederación* underlined the catholicity of their members.¹⁵⁹ Like the Federación, its foundation in 1923 received a small mention in the news section, only mentioning the associations that would participate in the new organization.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Hernán Núñez & Jaime Vivanco, *El trabajador católico, sus organizaciones laborales y la relación con su iglesia, 1860-1927*, BA Thesis, University of Chile, 1988, 91.

¹⁵⁶ Andrea Robles Parada, *La Liga de Damas Chilenas: De la cruzada moralizadora al sindicalismo femenino católico, 1912-1918*, MA Thesis, University of Chile, 2013. Núñez & Vivanco, *El trabajador católico*, 92 and 96-103.

¹⁵⁷ Núñez & Vivanco, *El trabajador católico*, 116-117.

¹⁵⁸ "Federación de sociedades obreras católicas," *LRC*, June 18, 1921, vol.40, 953.

¹⁵⁹ Núñez & Vivanco, *El trabajador católico*, 126.

¹⁶⁰ "Confederación Sindical," *LRC*, March 3, 1923, vol.44, 400.

The only article published in *LRC* in the 1920s also underlined the importance of the Catholic character of the unions. It was a short piece of three pages but from one of the permanent collaborators of *LRC*, although unknown as usual, in the section “Ideas y Hechos.” The author aimed to clarify the nature of unions in order that workers did not fall under the influence of socialist groups. A union, he argued, was an association in which individual interests that isolated were unsecured, jointed together. But any union only could fulfill its purpose if it was Catholic. Therefore, labor unions were “faith’s deeds.”¹⁶¹

A RURAL SOCIAL QUESTION?

The Social Question has been considered mostly a city problem for both contemporaries and historiography. As a direct result of industrialization, Chilean scholarship has not focused on the countryside, as if technological development would not have affected rural areas too.¹⁶² However, scholars are not the only ones to blame for

¹⁶¹ “La cuestión del sindicalismo,” *LRC*, June 4, 1921, vol.40, 857. The piece is published in the same number of Claro’s obituary, which could contribute a new factor to a better understanding of Church’s approach to Catholic unions. Bishop Miguel Claro was a strong supporter of Catholic syndicalism. He was the original promoter of “La Casa del Pueblo,” and he designated Father Viviani as its first director, although historiography has given all the credit to Viviani on this project. Sandra McGee Deutsch, *Las Derechas: The Extreme Right in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, 1890-1939* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, c1999), 75; José A. Michel Salazar, “El presbítero Guillermo Viviani Contreras y el sindicalismo cristiano,” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 10 (1992), 107. Núñez & Vivanco, *El trabajador católico*, 103. They even note that despite the support of Archbishop González, this was personal, not institutional. Finally, the union leader Clotario Blest pointed out that the initiative came from Claro and I trust his testimony, Echeverría, Clotario Blest, <http://www.blest.eu/biblio/echeverria/cap6.html>. Even more, one year before his death, Claro published two small works about unionism. Although currently unavailable at Chilean libraries or archives, both texts were reviewed in *LRC*. The first one, with a preface written by Viviani who called Claro “the democrat Bishop,” is a program of design for union’s organization. The second one, a two-volume book with the title *La Educación Sindical*, focused on the study of the nature of employment contracts, labor unions and federations. The reviewer praised the book because it was a light “in the middle of this chaos of opinions and schools.” “Bibliografía. Carta dirigida a la gran Confederación Sindical del Trabajo, a los Directorios de las Casas del Pueblo de Santiago y Valparaíso y a los Sindicatos del País,” *LRC*, October 2, 1920, vol.39, 495; “Bibliografía. Illmo Sr. Miguel Claro V. La Educación Sindical,” *LRC*, November 20, 1920, vol.39, 761.

¹⁶² The only text in which the Social Question in non-urban areas receives some attention is an article of 1965 by historian Fernando Silva. However, his approach to the Catholic social thought in the countryside was only the study of the Bachelor thesis of Vicente Echeverría to become a lawyer at the Catholic

such little attention to the subject. The Social Question in rural areas was not, in fact, a prominent issue at that time, playing out mainly in the cities. However, in the first decade of the past century, the Chilean Catholic Church showed some passing concern to the state of rural works. Both Archbishops Casanova and González called attention to living and working conditions of *inquilinos* in their pastorals of 1905 and 1910, respectively.¹⁶³

In addition, in 1910, *LRC* devoted several articles to denounce the poor living conditions of *inquilinos* and the responsibility of landowners on this. Besides, the journal received letters praising the texts but also complaining about them and rejecting the criticism to landowners. Interestingly, and in a very uncommon practice of the journal, *LRC* decided to publish some of these letters.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, between 1910 and 1912, the journal also published four articles about agricultural unions written by the Spanish priest Ángel León, recently arrived to Chile. Finally, in 1913, Archbishop González organized an “Agricultural Social Week” in which several laymen presented works about how to improve farming production and in which Father Martín Rücker presented a paper entitled “The Social Question in the Countryside.”

This was not entirely without precedent. In his pastoral about the need to improve the social condition of the Chilean people of 1905, Archbishop Casanova referred to his

University of Chile. Fernando Silva, “Notas sobre el pensamiento social católico a fines del siglo XIX,” *Historia* 4 (1965): 237-262.

¹⁶³ *Inquilinos* were the peasants that lived and worked in a hacienda receiving for their job a salary consistent in money but also the landowner gave them a small land to live and cultivate. Although the English translation for *inquilinos* is tenant, this last word does not refer to the exact meaning because the relationship between the owner of the hacienda and their workers was not like landlord and tenant; rather, it was a paternalistic relation, as I will explain in the next paragraphs. For that, I will use the word *inquilinos* always in Spanish. But *inquilinos* were not the only group in the countryside, there was also a transhumant population, men who moved between the haciendas mostly according agricultural times. Rootless, they were also the lowest social group in rural society. Also called “gañán,” there were about 120,000 of these men according to the census of 1865. Arnold J. Bauer, *La sociedad rural chilena: desde la conquista española a nuestros días* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1994), 172-174, 184.

¹⁶⁴ I cannot assure that the criticism the journal received was unusual but the publication of such letters was not common. Perhaps *LRC* received letters from readers before and on others topics, but they did not publish them and not with the attention that I will detail next.

previous pastoral of 1904 about the foundation of an Agricultural School at the Catholic University in Chile. Now, he added that the care for agriculture had to include the improvement of rural workers by “giving them a salary according to their tasks, facilitating them the education of their children at the haciendas, [and] healing of their illnesses.”¹⁶⁵ He called particularly to the action of hacendados, who had to “look at their workers with love and treated them like his own sons who devoted their life to serve him.”¹⁶⁶ This would be the common position when talking about the countryside. If in the cities there was no confidence on the agency of workers if they were not under the influence of religion; in the countryside, *inquilinos*, no matter their age, were minors who depended on the landowner. Casanova recommended that hacendados take measures to prevent high alcohol consumption among *inquilinos*. He ordered the parish priest, for his part, to “inspire decent and educated habits within the *inquilinos*,” and to influence on landowners in order that they fulfilled their obligation of looking after the religious, moral, and economic well-being of their *inquilinos*.¹⁶⁷ This last issue was no small matter. Five years later, Archbishop González also cautioned about the difficulties *inquilinos* faced to save money by not being able to deliver it to a saving bank, given the geographical isolation in which they lived, and due to the common assaults in the countryside when they received cash every time they sold an animal or after harvest. He noted also that *inquilinos* became then discouraged and wasted their money in alcohol and parties.¹⁶⁸

González’ pastoral was issued in the middle of the controversy around the articles published in *LRC* about *inquilinos*. The series, “*Los inquilinos en Chile*,” published

¹⁶⁵ Casanova, Pastoral 1905, 428.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ González, Pastoral 1910, 559.

between March and October of 1910, focused on the denounce of their poor living conditions due to the insufficient care of landowners. In the first piece, the author noted the little attention that rural workers received from sociology in spite of their important role on the creation of the national wealth and on the distribution of basic consumer goods. Inquilinos worked the most but were the worst paid, and even they could not take Sunday rest, the author complained. The land they received to cultivate did not compensate this. Compared with the urban worker, whose situation the author clearly portrayed unrealistically positive, inquilinos's suffering was higher:

while the urban worker, who works limited hours per day, has eaten well, and even has received some present along his life, has a good old age in his own small house bought with his savings; the inquilino, after a life with large lacks of any kind, does not have anything to leave to his sons that his quality of inquilino with which he was born.¹⁶⁹

His observations on the social status of rural workers were not far from reality. Social relationships were highly stratified in haciendas, more than in the cities, and the landowner received from his inquilinos submissive attitudes.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, inquilinos were tied to the hacienda not only by the land received from the landowner but also for the paternalistic relationship with him.¹⁷¹ This created the obvious unequal relationship between the inquilino and the hacendado that the author noted. The landowner was “a protector that assists the inquilino to benefit him, but imposing him the conditions of this assistance,” requesting sometimes services from the inquilino that were not in the original agreement. The worker could find defense in a mutual association but this kind of groups did not exist yet in the countryside, the author lamented.¹⁷² The solution was twofold:

¹⁶⁹ “Los Inquilinos en Chile,” *LRC*, March 5, 1910, vol.18, 187.

¹⁷⁰ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 90.

¹⁷¹ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 92. Pinto & Salazar, *Actores, Identidad y movimiento*, 104. Vicuña, *La Belle époque chilena*, 27.

¹⁷² “Los Inquilinos en Chile,” *LRC*, March 5, 1910, vol.18, 188.

first, instruction of inquilinos had to improve as most of them were illiterate and, thus, it was easy for landowners to abuse them; and second, proprietors must exhibit a more Christian behavior-- being this a task for priests.¹⁷³ He ominously concluded “if this change does not come after an spirit of equality and Christian charity, it will come with the violence of socialism.”¹⁷⁴

The author was correct as well on the living and working conditions of inquilinos. The detailed research of historian Arnold Bauer on the Chilean rural society shows that in the second half of the nineteenth century, as the market for raw materials expanded due to a higher national and international demand, inquilinos had to dedicate even more time to work on the crops of the landowners, but their salaries did not increase.¹⁷⁵ In the case of new inquilinos, they even received less land than the older inquilinos on which to live and cultivate. Hacendados used different ways to make inquilinos feel they belonged to the hacienda and, therefore, avoid their workers left it but none of them included a better salary. They offered already a small construction in the land the worker received, loans in the groceries store of the hacienda, gave them fruits and vegetables, and organized parties and entertainment activities like horse racing.¹⁷⁶ All of them were “reminders of the fountainhead from which the blessings flow.”¹⁷⁷

Yet, the following texts validated the paternalistic relationship more than the ideal of an equal relationship between the workers and the landowner. Perhaps, some of the reactions that the piece provoked explain this change. In the next number, *LRC* published three letters, each written from a passionately different perspective. The first one criticized the article, with the writer charging that “instead of being published in a journal

¹⁷³ Ibid., 189, 190

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 190.

¹⁷⁵ Bauer, *La sociedad rural chilena*, 186-187.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 192.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 193.

that calls itself Catholic, it would be fine in an *Anarchist Journal*,” and accused the columnist of firing up the workers’ hatred against the rich.¹⁷⁸ The journal replied that the author of the article, a priest, was just fulfilling their mission:

Why do we pressure the popular passions when we say that our peasants live, as a general rule, under misery and abandonment? Why do we assault wealthy classes when we point out to landowners the path of duty, and we applaud those who follow it and exhort those who are maybe lost to follow it? That is, exactly, the mission of the clergy.¹⁷⁹

Then, to support their position, the journal showed other two letters that applauded the article. The last one, went even further on the denunciation of misconduct of landowners saying that they only wanted to obtain fast profits of the land to travel to Europe.¹⁸⁰

The most detailed letter questioning the article was published two numbers later. In it, the author (“un hacendado”) detailed why he thought inquilinos had a good life and that any problems they might have, if any, were not responsibility of landowners. There were good schools for workers’ children, if they could not attend it was because schools were too far or parents needed their children to work. There were convenient groceries stores in the haciendas and if they were expensive, it was the owner of the store’s fault, the landowners were not the one to blame for it. If there were bars, it was because the law to control them was not effective. Inquilinos were not always honest and laborious; there were also bad ones as in any other social group. Finally, if the practice of religion was decreasing, it was because “the haciendas are becoming liberals, [and] conservatives are losing ground.”¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ “Más sobre los inquilinos,” *LRC*, April 2, 1910, vol.18, 381. Italics in the original.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 382.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 384.

¹⁸¹ “Los inquilinos,” *LRC*, May 7, 1910, vol.18, 567, 568.

This last letter received a detailed response from the author of the article. In the following two numbers, he showed with statistics why inquilinos needed to improve their condition and how much of this was landowners' obligatoriness. The priest emphasized that if the hacendado was equitable and charitable, the peril of socialism would disappear.¹⁸² Charity had to be executed by following what Pope Leo XIII mandated in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*: employers must pay salaries enough for workers to afford their basic needs and sicknesses, and save for their retirement. The law of supply and demand should not determine salaries. However, this time, despite his purpose of denouncing the bad conditions of inquilinos, he eventually ended up softening his arguments by conceding that some estates did not offer bad conditions to their workers.

On others estates, however, the situation was not positive for workers and strongly criticized the excessive effort to economize in the hacienda by not paying enough salaries to inquilinos that allowed them to save money.¹⁸³ However, this was not always fault of the owner, the writer argued, because even with a small salary, inquilinos most of times wasted their money drinking.¹⁸⁴ Confusing transhumant peasants with inquilinos, he did not claim that relationship between owners and workers favored always the former because inquilinos were free to move out of the hacienda if they wanted to go to another hacienda that paid better.¹⁸⁵ He also was not alarmed that children as young as seven years old worked, even with the plow.¹⁸⁶ He praised the festivities during the summer in which the landowner gave presents to inquilinos like clothes and toys for children. On these occasions workers blessed "the charitable hand that generously has

¹⁸² "Los Inquilinos en Chile," *LRC*, May 21, 1910, vol.18, 682.

¹⁸³ "Los inquilinos en Chile," *LRC*, June 4, 1910, vol.18, 730, 732.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 733.

¹⁸⁵ "Los Inquilinos en Chile," *LRC*, May 21, 1910, vol.18, 683.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 685.

given them those benefits” while hacendados experienced “in their hearts the peace and joy with which the conscience rewards those who knows good deeds.”¹⁸⁷

The deep-rooted notion of a hierarchical social organization¹⁸⁸ in which the inquilino was considered a relative minor instead of an adult with agency, explains this authors’ opinion.¹⁸⁹ In his next, and final, article, he went into detail on his social assessments. Inquilinos were not naturally immoral; rather, their vices were due to the “estate de unawareness in which they live, due to the lack of instruction and religious knowledge.”¹⁹⁰ Among these bad habits, he identified alcoholism, gambling, lack of economic planning, and excessive ambition. This last characteristic showed their “lack of pragmatic spirit,” making them to waste their money purchasing goods, like horses and a property, that were not able to afford.¹⁹¹ Both the landowner -by increasing the salaries- and the parish priest -by educating them to use well their money- had to join their efforts to “civilize the people.”¹⁹² By “keeping them in such well-being,” inquilinos would not felt inclined towards socialist ideas.¹⁹³

This lively debate inspired another refutation, but this time it came from inside the Church. A “former country priest” sent a letter to the journal saying:

I would have liked, Mr. Director, that these observations would have arrived on time, before the publication of the last announced article, in which the causes of the misery of many inquilinos will be study, in order that they were not blamed for their vices and waste. Certainly, if they do not save money, they do not have the right to complain; but they have the right to have some of the advantages and

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 686.

¹⁸⁸ On the meaning of the “deep-rooted notions” in Chilean history, like hierarchical social organization, see the excellent essay of Rafael Sagredo, “The End of ‘the’ Chilean history in the nineteenth-century,” *Historia* 48-1 (January-June 2015): 301-331, and particularly page 316.

¹⁸⁹ “Los Inquilinos en Chile,” *LRC*, June 18, 1910, vol.18, 824.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 825.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 827, 828.

¹⁹² Ibid., 829.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 830.

comfort like the rest of humanity. And to save today, they would have to live with the minimum.¹⁹⁴

At the same time these articles and the reply letters appeared in *LRC*, the journal also published four pieces authored by Father Ángel León, in which he promoted the creation of unions in the countryside, making it more complex to define the position of the Church on the social organization in rural areas. Arrived to Chile in the same 1910,¹⁹⁵ León brought his ideas from Europe and was not yet well familiarized with the social organization in the countryside.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, he heartily recommended the creation of agricultural unions because they were, in his opinion, the best means to defeat socialism and mitigate pauperism.¹⁹⁷ The institutions had three objectives: religious and moral, instructive, and economic;¹⁹⁸ and to reach these goals, priests had to be their directors, being in charge not only of the religious aspects, but also of the daily functioning of the union, which had to be associated with the closest parish.¹⁹⁹ Although León never distinguished between landowners and inquilinos -he referred to “farmers” or just “men”- his purpose is to contribute to the progress of the workers as he devoted a long introduction in his first piece to detail their material and moral deficiencies.²⁰⁰

Yet, all this concern nothing had to do with practical decisions, because León’s ideas never bore fruit. Despite this, he published one more time his ideas two years later in an article entitled “¿Para qué sirven los sindicatos agrícolas?” where León described

¹⁹⁴ “Observación a los artículos sobre Los Inquilinos en Chile,” *LRC*, June 18, 1910, vol.18, 833.

¹⁹⁵ Ángel León was born in Logroño, Spain, in 1882 and was ordained in 1905. He arrived to Chile in 1910 where he was in charge of the “Santa Ana” Church between 1910 and 1913 and was the ecclesiastical administrator of the Seminary of Santiago. He had an interesting career in education being professor at the “Instituto de Humanidades” and founder of the “Instituto Alonso de Ercilla” in 1919 and “Instituto Cervantes.” He died in Santiago in 1945. Arancibia Salcedo, *Diccionario biográfico*, 120.

¹⁹⁶ León recognized this: “as I learn about the moral, religious, and rural situation of this charming country; and about the relationship between the wealthy and the worker, I will go explaining my ideas about unions.” Ángel León, “El clero y los sindicatos agrícolas,” *LRC*, June 4, 1910, vol.18, 726-727.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 728.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 726.

¹⁹⁹ Ángel León, “Reglamento de los sindicatos agrícolas,” *LRC*, June 18, 1910, vol.18, 813-814.

²⁰⁰ Ángel León, “El clero y los sindicatos agrícolas,” *LRC*, June 4, 1910, vol.18, 727-728.

the first rural unions created in Europe. Again, he did not distinguish between social classes in the countryside:

Agricultural union is a professional association, a group of men and agricultural and livestock interests that pursues the defense and study of those interests but also the moral, religious, professional, and economic interest of their members and their families.²⁰¹

This vagueness in social terms was even in the description of the activities performed in the union. On the one hand, unions had to defend the farmers' interests and rights and help them to increase the production on their land, but there was no mention to the farmers as workers of a hacienda. On the other hand, unions had to work also like a mutual association, typical of the working class in the cities.

Why did *LRC* dedicate some much attention to the topic in 1910, and give space in their pages to so many different approaches? There were the articles about the *inquilinos*, the letters to support or refute the ideas in it, and there were Ángel León articles. Whatever the journals' final intentions, the Catholic Church kept its paternalistic discourse, as in the other topics about the Social Question in the cities; moreover, there was not mention to the role of the State in improving *inquilinos* conditions. The solution always was on the priests or the landowner. Still, there was one more initiative from the Catholic Church: as part of the celebrations for the 1600th anniversary of the Peace of the Church, Archbishop González decided to organize the "Social Agricultural Week," held in October of 1913. The purpose was to "benefit *inquilinos*" and to cultivate the "moral conscience of *patrones*."²⁰²

Although the Archbishop appointed only laymen as their organizers and the topics treated were mostly technical aspects of the work in the countryside, Father Martín

²⁰¹ "¿Para qué sirven los sindicatos agrícolas?," *LRC*, February 3, 1912, vol.22, 203.

²⁰² "Edicto en que se ordenan las fiestas en celebración del XVI Centenario de la Paz de la Iglesia." In *Primera Semana Social Agrícola*, p. xii.

Rücker, General Vicar of the Archbishopric of Santiago, had a prominent role in the conference by representing the Archbishop. He presented a paper about the social action in the countryside and also pronounced the closing speech of the meeting, where Rücker gave some practical recommendations to carry out Catholic social action in the countryside. He, basically, called for the same set of the actions performed in the cities, but in rural areas and under the organization of landowners. They had to maintain a school and a patronato for children of the hacienda, and a mutual association for the adults, ideally following the model of the *Sociedad de Obreros San José*.²⁰³ Rücker wished to develop thrift in rural workers and he called “the landowner has to insist upon his inquilinos acquire that very useful habit.”²⁰⁴ He also had to give “paternal advices” to their inquilinos in order they were not abused when they sold their own crops.²⁰⁵

Rücker, as the Catholic discourse dictated, also warned against workers’ drunkenness but in this case, he also emphasized the duty of landowners: “They have to do something to save their people [*gente*].”²⁰⁶ Finally, there was a particular problem in the countryside that was not obviously in the cities, but related to them: the migration of many of the workers to urban areas pursuing a better life.²⁰⁷ The landowner, Rücker argued, was the one called to face this challenges as well. “[T]he significant reduction of the migration to the cities,” he charged, “is on the hands of the ‘patrón.’”²⁰⁸ He had to keep the well-being of their workers so that they did not feel the temptation of changing the countryside by the city. In sum, Rücker recommended that “the ‘patrón’ got interested

²⁰³ Martín Rücker, “La acción social en los campos,” *Primera Semana Social Agrícola*, 349-351.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 352.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 353.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Between 1865 and 1907, 481,000 persons would have migrated to the cities, which represented approximately 40% of the total rural population. Carlos Hurtado, *Concentración de la población y desarrollo económico: el caso chileno* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, Instituto de Economía, 1966), 146 and quoted in Bauer, *La sociedad rural chilena*, 185.

²⁰⁸ Martín Rücker, “La acción social en los campos,” *Semana Social Agrícola*, 356.

pragmatically on his people [gente], lives close to his workers, promotes their well-being, [...], so that inquilinos were convinced that no one else loves them as much as his 'patrón,' whose life will be for them a vigorous example.”²⁰⁹

While it may be objectionable that all the social works was delegated on landowners because they represented the hierarchical social organization of the Catholic Church, in the context of the Catholic Social Action it was not. In the cities, Social Catholicism was directed by the guidelines of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and some priests directed some of the diverse institutions created, but laymen were mostly in charge of their functioning, as I mentioned in the previous chapter. Landowners were just the laymen of the countryside. In other words, Catholic Action in the countryside was religious modernity in an even more traditional context than cities, and contemporary men did not see a contradiction in that. Their main concern was resolving the Social Question. In a piece that reported about the Social Agricultural Week, Father Luis Román said in *LRC*:

The Social Question is still latent in the soul of the *guasos* [sic],²¹⁰ who understands his situation but continues resigned and submissive because his faith condemns riots and violence. Sadly, politics, the bad example of his landowners, and that spirit of materialism and sensualism that hangs in the atmosphere of the century, little by little, with the help of drunkenness, are breaking the restraint that keeps him humble and moderate.

His conclusion was pessimistic: “The field is ready; it only needs the seed of socialism [...] in order that storm breaks, with riots, with strikes, with dynamite and dagger.”²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 358.

²¹⁰ The correct term is “huaso” and corresponds to the typical idea of a Chilean countryman, a kind of Chilean cowboy.

²¹¹ Luis Román, “La Semana Social Agrícola,” *LRC*, October 4, 1913, vol.25, 518.

CONCLUSION

In 1892, after his pastoral visit to the Archdiocese, Archbishop Casanova was relieved:

Our relief has been large when he saw that the Holy Beliefs that we received from our ancestors and to which is linked to the happiness of our Fatherland, keep intact, above all in those who are dispossessed of fortune. [...]. Thanks to God, our people are Catholic, despite everything that has been done to take them away from his faith.²¹²

The main concern of the Catholic Church was that the *pueblo* would lose their faith. The concern for the material well-being of the lower class, although sincere, was just because pauperism could lead to search solutions on non-religious or, even worse, anti-religious groups.

From this point, we can identify some characteristics of the “Catholic social thought” that developed in Chile. With this terminology, though, I do not mean the ideas of Catholics on Social Question but their ideas on social organization and, particularly, how they defined the poor. First of all, there was an established place for everybody in society, which implied, consequently, inequality. However, this did not mean that God would make any discrimination between their sons. As Archbishop Errázuriz said in his inauguration pastoral in 1919: “Jesus preached to masters and slaves the holy Christian equality, which, far from excluding submission to authority, constitutes its basis. We all are equals and the Christian did not kneel before other man but respect and obey the superior because he sees in him the representative of God.”²¹³ Therefore, workers had their defined journey in life since birth: “To have good workers, they have to be educated with wholesome principles since childhood.”²¹⁴

²¹² Casanova, Pastoral 1892, 225-226.

²¹³ Crescente Errázuriz, Carta Pastoral que el Illmo. y Rmo. Sr. Arzobispo dirige a sus diocesanos al tomar a su cargo el Gobierno de la Arquidiócesis, *LRC*, February, 1, 1919, num. 420, 162.

²¹⁴ Ambrosio Turricia “Oratorios Festivos Escuelas-Talleres,” *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 602.

This education under “wholesome principles” was needed also because poor had bad and immoral habits by nature: “The reform of people consists in transforming their heart, in making them turn their rude instincts into superior emotions.”²¹⁵ Therefore, initiatives like the *Institución León XIII*, as Rodrigo Hidalgo has pointed out, “aimed to form a model group of houses²¹⁶ for Catholic workers by means of the development of an global beneficence, whose purpose was to improve worker’s quality of life in both physical and moral fields.”²¹⁷ This beneficence was according the working class identity defined by Catholic ideals, because the final purpose was to maintain the Christian social order.

²¹⁵ “La embriaguez en Chile,” *LRC*, August 1, 1892, 631. Italics are mine.

²¹⁶ In the original is “población.” I chose “group of houses” because in this case it means the houses that are built by a certain company. However, it is not a “condominium” because in Chile, a condominium is for wealthy people. In present times, in Chile, población also could mean shantytown.

²¹⁷ Hidalgo, Errázuriz and Booth, “Las viviendas de la beneficencia católica en Santiago.”

Chapter 5: Three Priests, One Social Question, and Different Audiences. Martín Rucker, José María Caro, and Rafael Edwards

INTRODUCTION

On September 30, 1900, eleven priests gathered at the Catholic University to prepare the foundation of the “Ecclesiastical Academy.”¹ It was one of the most longed-for initiatives of Archbishop Mariano Casanova. The group asked Casanova to accept to be the honorary president of the new association, which he gladly did. The executive president was Father Rodolfo Vergara, president of the Catholic University, and the vice-president was Father Gilberto Fuenzalida, principal of the Seminary of Santiago. Among his thirty-four members were José María Caro -who also was the vice-secretary-, Rafael Edwards -active member-, and Martín Rucker -corresponding member representing the Archdiocese.² Although it is unknown when the Academy finished, its seeds certainly bore fruit, as Casanova hoped.³ The purpose of this chapter is to show how three of its members, José María Caro, Martín Rucker, and Rafael Edwards, fulfilled Casanova’s wishes by focusing their written work on the Social Question between 1898 and 1921. While in the previous chapter I presented the thought of the Chilean Catholic Church as an institution, in this chapter my focus will be on three of the most prominent members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and their thoughts on social problems.

These three clergy stood out within the ecclesiastical hierarchy for additional reasons as well. As their respective biographies demonstrated in chapter one, Rucker gained fame as a progressive priest, which had consequences to his career; Caro stood out for his rapid ascent into the Catholic hierarchy, becoming the first Chilean Cardinal,

¹ Manuel Antonio Román, the General Vicar of the Archbishopric, in his letter to Casanova about the meeting, did not inform the names of the priests, only the number. “Academia Eclesiástica,” *LRC*, T1, 1901, 42.

² The complete list on “Academia Eclesiástica,” *LRC*, T1, 1901, 43-44.

³ Letter from Casanova to Roman, *LRC*, T1, 1901, 42.

despite his poor and humble family background in the countryside. Edwards, finally, gained fame -not always the good one- for his multiple activities within the Church, and also for his considerable power in his job as director of the Catholic Social Action.

Given that their written production is huge, above all for the cases of Caro and Rücker, I will focus on particularly moments of their lives. In the case of Rücker, I will use the lectures he gave between 1911 and 1915 to workers' associations, published in three volumes under the title *Conferencias Populares* (Popular Lectures). I will mention just briefly two papers he published in other two books in 1913 and 1917 -*Problemas Sociales* and *Notas Universitarias*, respectively. For Caro, I will study the first three years, 1912 to 1915, of the weekly newspaper *La Luz* (The Light), which he founded while was Vicar of Iquique, 1130 miles to the north of Santiago. I chose this period because his post in Iquique was the first big assignment he had within the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy and because Iquique's society had particular characteristics that made Caro's labor more notorious. Finally, for Edwards, I will focus on two works he wrote on the importance of democracy (1898 and 1908/9), two articles he published at *La Revista Católica* (1902 and 1908), and two texts he wrote as part of his duties like director of the Catholic Social Action in 1921. I chose these three moments because they reflected the evolution of Edwards thought, as the previous chapters have tangentially showed already.

After a brief review of the audiences for which they wrote when discussing social problems, I will describe the definition of the Social Question they utilized and discuss the solutions they proposed to it, highlighting the educational role of religion and the importance of mutual benefit associations and workers' associations. I will also mention when, and if, these priests talked about the role of the State to solve the Social Question. Finally, I will demonstrate that the social Catholic thought they propounded represented

paternalistic and hierarchical ideas of social organization, a distinctive characteristic of not only the Catholic Church but also the rest of the Chilean elite, as I just pointed out in the previous chapter.

WHOM WERE THEY TALKING TO?

Modern means of communication and new practices adopted by the Catholic Church were the tools used to face the Social Question because “There is nothing that the people need more than the education of all those things related to the worker in a direct and indirect way.”⁴ For this purpose, lectures were a new form of being in touch with workers, like an extension of the homily, as a means of reaching workers who did not attend Mass. Rücker performed forty lectures to workers between 1910 and 1913, approximately.⁵ He stated in the introduction of the three-volume compilation of his lectures that his goal was to “guide workers around the tangled Social Question.”⁶ But the specific objective was to assure that anti-religion ideologies did not absorb workers. These ideologies, in his words, took advantage of “the lack of culture in many of our workers,” who did not have social or political agency: “We would be witnesses of this degrading scene [...] if the working class knew by themselves what social problems are, and were able to criticize teachings of those famous [socialist] preachers, that only know to adulate to obtain personal benefits from them.”⁷

José María Caro stands out for his work within a very distinct context. The province of Tarapacá distinguished from the rest of the country due to its social and political particularities: a greatly politicized society, weak paternalistic bonds, recent and

⁴ Martín Rücker, “Advertencia,” in *Conferencias Populares*, I, 1914, 3.

⁵ The dates are approximate because the books did not say when Rücker gave them, but they were published between 1911 and 1914.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Martín Rücker, “Necesidad de la Cultura,” lecture at the “Federation of Catholic Works,” in *Conferencias Populares*, I, 1914, 8-9.

heterogeneous social configuration, and strong anti-clerical political groups.⁸ The appointment of José María Caro as Vicar of Iquique in 1911 shows the Church's desire to reinforce Catholicism in the province.

The weekly newspaper *La Luz* Caro founded in 1912 was one of the tools he considered crucial to his apostolate. "I have been always very interested in Catholic publications because I know how effective reading is," he would say forty-four years later when recalling the foundation of the newspaper.⁹ He chose *La Luz* as his name because he aimed to expand the knowledge of Catholicism within Tarapacá:

⁸ As seen in the introduction, the Social Question was cause of alarm for the Chilean elite that was afraid that new social groups that claimed solution for their problems threatened the social order established after Independence. But this classical characterization of the Social Question had particular features in Tarapacá, which gave to the region an exceptional nature. Its incorporation to the Chilean state as a consequence of the Pacific War against Peru and Bolivia in the decade of 1880 brought about not only territorial expansion and economic benefits for the State and the elite, but also poverty for the workers of the nitrate's mines. As a result, common tensions in any working space caused by industrialization were more intense in Tarapacá than in the rest of the country. Besides, Tarapacá was a new society as it was formed by people from the center and the south of Chile, but also from Peru, Bolivia, China, England, and other European countries. As it has been well studied by Chilean historians, factors that explain the constitution of Tarapacá's society were not the same than ones that explain the configuration of the rest of Chilean society. Tarapacá was the perfect scenario for the development of an extremely politicized society. The Catholic Church, through the work of Caro, had a very active role facing social problems. The other province in the north was Antofagasta, whose Vicar, Luis Silva Lezaeta, also performed very dynamic work on social problems. José Antonio González (ed.), *Luis Silva Lezaeta, el pastor del desierto* (Antofagasta: Universidad Católica del Norte, 2005). Yet, historiography had not studied in depth Catholic Church in the north, mostly mentioning it as a conservative institution. Exceptions are the very well researched works by Benjamín Silva and Carolina Figueroa, from the approach of the local history. Benjamín Silva, "Evangelizando Tarapacá: Iglesia regional bajo los ojos de José María Caro, 1911-1926," *Anuario de la Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 27 (2009): 135-148; Benjamín Silva, "Reflexiones historiográficas sobre el Vicario Apostólico de Tarapacá, norte de Chile" (1882-1927)," *Anuario de la Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 28 (2010): 179-194; Carolina Figueroa, Benjamín Silva, and Luis Castro, "Entre la paz social y la lucha revolucionaria: discursos sociales desde la prensa católica Tarapacá (Chile), 1911-1926," *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 42.1 (2015): 245-272. General bibliography of society in the northern cities during this period includes: Julio Pinto, "¿Cuestión social o cuestión política? La lenta politización de la sociedad popular tarapqueña hacia fines de siglo (1889-1900)," *Historia* 30 (1997): 211-261; Julio Pinto, "Socialismo y salitre: Recabarren, Tarapacá y la formación del Partido Obrero Socialista," *Historia* 32 (1999): 315-366; Pablo Artaza "El impacto de la matanza de Santa María de Iquique. Conciencia de clases, política popular y movimiento social en Tarapacá," *Cuadernos de Historia* 18 (1998): 169-227; Pablo Artaza, *Movimiento Social y politización popular en Tarapacá, 1900-1912* (Santiago: Ediciones Escaparate, 2006); Eduardo Devés, *Los que van a morir te saludan*; Sergio González, *Hombres y mujeres de la pampa. Tarapacá en el ciclo de expansión del salitre* (Santiago: DIBAM, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2002); Sergio González, *Ofrenda a una masacre*.

⁹ Juan Vanherk Moris, *Monseñor José María Caro: Apóstol de Tarapacá* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Del Pacífico, 1963), 154.

This small piece of paper will be called *La Luz* because its ambitions are to make Jesus Christ known, explain his doctrines -unknown for some people and misunderstood by others-, and show the work that he has made in favor of the civilization and moral well-being of peoples.¹⁰

La Luz was distributed free in parks, the dock of the port, and in the parishes of Iquique, although persons who wanted to contribute to cover the cost of its production, could get a yearly subscription.¹¹ By the end of its first year, *La Luz* had an edition of 6,400 issues, which was the average for the next years.¹² According to the census of 1907, by that year there were 38,670 potential readers.¹³

Finally, Rafael Edwards' texts I will study came from different times (between 1898 and 1921) and occasions. Unlike Caro and Rücker, Edwards wrote for a somewhat different audience: while he wrote for Catholics in general, workers were not his primary target audience. Rather, for the case of the texts related to his post as director of the Catholic Social Action, he aimed to the Catholic elite that performed social works. He also intended to reach the political elite in general that, given his social status, was in charge of establishing the legal regulations to face social problems. He clearly declared this in 1898 when presenting his translation of Giuseppe Toniolo's book on Christian Democracy: "This is not a book only for lower classes but for leading classes in particular." The latter group "have not understood the meaning of the social movement, [...], did not know its significance."¹⁴

¹⁰ "Misión de la Prensa", *La Luz*, 1, November 3, 1912.

¹¹ Vanherk, *Monseñor José María Caro*, 153.

¹² *La Luz*, 53, November 2, 1913.

¹³ According to the census, the total population of Tarapacá was 82,126. There were 79,396 Catholics and there were 38,670 literate persons in the province. *Censo de la República de Chile: levantado el 28 de noviembre de 1907. Memoria presentada al Supremo Gobierno por la Comisión Central del Censo* (Santiago, Chile: Soc. Impr. y Lit. Universo, 1908), 46-47.

¹⁴ Rafael Edwards, "Introducción." In Toniolo, *La verdadera democracia*, 13.

THE NATURE OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION

As the Catholic Social thought dictated, Rücker, Edwards, and Caro thought that religion was the key on the Social Question. For them, the loss of religion in people was at the root of social problems: owner did not were Christian with their workers, and, then workers began to attend socialist ideas.¹⁵ Edwards started focusing on the perils of socialism when facing Social Question. For example, in the introduction to his translation of Toniolo's book, he warned: "The voices that today come from lower classes of society, and which are roars of riots, need to turn into voices of love and blessing; what exploiters of people want to rise like barriers of discord and antagonism needs to turn into union's bonds."¹⁶ Four years later, he was even more explicit in *LRC* when he wrote a text on some of the Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII. About the encyclical *Quod Apostolici* of 1878, he said: "Nobody who worries about the Social Questions (as every Catholic should) have not looked at the precious teachings in this encyclical about the mistakes of socialism."¹⁷ This was necessary, he added in 1908, because in the current times, "anti-social passions unleash with increasing violence."¹⁸

José María Caro's texts in *La Luz* highlighted this last aspect; the fear of socialism. The articles about the Social Question as a social issue published in *La Luz* are few compared with the ones dedicated to debate with leftist groups. In the first issue of the weekly paper, Caro declared that "the good press" must: "Fight against evil with good, the evil doctrine with the good doctrine, the evil propaganda with the good propaganda. If we do this, we will win the good for the Fatherland."¹⁹ In fact, *La Luz*

¹⁵ Incidentally, I wrote this sentence when the controversy over the words of Pope Francis on Donald Trump when the Pontiff affirmed that "A person who thinks only about building walls, wherever they may be, and not building bridges, is not Christian."

¹⁶ Edwards, "Introducción," 4-5.

¹⁷ Rafael Edwards, "Las enseñanzas de León XIII," *LRC*, T2, 1902, 142.

¹⁸ Rafael Edwards, "La Acción Social Católica. Dos normas indispensables," *LRC*, T14, 1908, 244.

¹⁹ "Misión de la prensa," *La Luz*, 1, November 3, 1912.

spent most of its pages debating with the socialist and radical press that criticized religious processions in the streets of the city; religious education; or when a priest refused to baptize a baby if one of the godfathers was not Catholic, did not have any sacrament, or had only a civil marriage ceremony and not a religious one.

One year later, Caro highlighted again that it was urgent to fight against religion's enemies:

Today is the first birthday of our little publication [*La Luz*]. The circumstances in which it has been born and has grown, the frequent attacks to our faith [...] have been for *La Luz* reasons to display more energy than in a more tranquil environment. The fight, far from intimidate us, has given more vitality to our newspaper.²⁰

In fact, given the special circumstances he had to face in Iquique, Caro placed a special emphasis on socialism in his writings. The north of Chile, given the large population of workers in the nitrate industry, was “one of the main centers of the rising Chilean proletariat and an earlier bastion of popular politicization.”²¹ After a large strike in most of the province in 1907 and the “Massacre of *Santa María de Iquique*,” where hundreds of workers and their families were killed by the police in December of 1907, the Church had to face a less mobilized population but one more politicized and with more class-conscious.²² Besides, the area's recent settlement process and incorporation to the Chilean state (after the War of the Pacific in the 1880s) resulted in weaker paternalistic bonds, unlike Santiago's post-colonial society. All these factors contributed to Tarapacá's working class population developing more agency than the rest of the country, and the Catholic Church had to use more aggressive means of defense and persuasion. Finally, during the time studied here (1912 to 1915), the leader of Chilean

²⁰ *La Luz*, 53, November 2, 1913.

²¹ Julio Pinto Vallejos, “¿Cuestión social o cuestión política?, 224.

²² Pablo Artaza, “El impacto de la matanza de Santa María de Iquique,” 225 and Pablo Artaza, “Movimiento social y politización popular,” 20-21.

Socialism, Luis Emilio Recabarren, lived in the city working, unsuccessfully, to organize workers politically. According to historian Julio Pinto, “the arrival of Recabarren to Iquique seems to have eventually encouraged the politicization of the Social Question in the province that certainly was ‘boiling’ since some time ago.”²³

Despite these conditions, José María Caro, conversely, only mentioned once, and indirectly, the possibility of employers being responsible for the depressed workers’ conditions. In 1913, he wrote, “Would there be inequality? Would there be injustice in the relationships between employers and workers if both sides were well-educated in Catholic social doctrine about these relations? No, there will not be.”²⁴ From issues number 9 to 11 of *La Luz*, for example, the newspaper published a series of articles about the relationship between priests and workers. There, the Social Question is defined as a religious problem, not a social one. Socialism was not the solution, the paper argued, because it distracted workers from their religious duties and, consequently, put the Catholic social order at risk. According to one columnist,²⁵ social issues of that time “are not ‘issues’ because if they are about whether rich and powerful persons have to be charitable to the poor, and the last have to respect rich, it is not an issue and nothing even that justify the denomination of ‘social.’”²⁶

The Social Question, therefore, would be a religious issue because it was about living rightly as a Christian: “It is about -no more, no less- if the Gospel has to be

²³ Julio Pinto, “Socialismo y salitre: Recabarren,” 319.

²⁴ “Al buen sentido del pueblo,” *La Luz*, 36, July 8, 1913.

²⁵ It is not possible to assure, with the sources available so far, who the columnists of *La Luz* were, since all of the texts were authored anonymously. According to Juan Vanherk in his work about José María Caro as Vicar of Iquique, Caro was the main writer of the newspaper during the first years. I follow Vanherk but only in the case of the three articles mentioned here about the relationship between priests and the poor. This is because the writer expanded their comments about Don Bosco, the founder of the religious order of Salesians, of whom Caro had a profound admiration, as stated in his autobiography. Morandé, *El cardenal Caro*, 33 and Vanherk, *Monseñor José María Caro*, 153-165.

²⁶ “Los frailes y los obreros,” *La Luz*, 9, December 29, 1912.

accomplished or not.”²⁷ In a commentary note in a report from the “Labor Office”²⁸ that studied living and working conditions of workers in Tarapacá, *La Luz* continued emphasizing the importance of religion, and taking into account the effects of capitalism on workers (as the *Rerum Novarum* asserted). Despite the report contained “detailed research,” the columnist complained that there was not any reference to religious conditions in the province. The lack of religiosity was the reason, continued the article, of the population’s poverty, exemplified by the high percentages of mortality and illegitimate children.²⁹

In the case of Edwards, he began to shift his focus to the imbalance of social relationships between rich and poor, as he came to understand that social problems were not simply the result of elite negligence and irreligiosity. By the time he was in charge of the first Catholic Social Action in Chile in the 1920s, Edwards wrote that “The social Question is the very serious problem that results from the discomfort that afflicts society and, mainly, working class.”³⁰ He noted that this discomfort came from an “individual and collective distress.” The first one corresponds to the high class, the owners of the capital, who, “turn into materialism, [...] have lost the light of faith or, at least, the leading lines of Christian judgment.” The second one refers to workers, who “no longer have the rising strength given by faith [...] and had turn themselves in to the insatiable thirst of pleasures and wealth.”³¹ Therefore, social classes in general could not “fulfill the mission they had assigned.”³² Yet, he did not forget the dangers of socialism because, it

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ The Labor Office, created in 1907, was the predecessor of the Minister of Labor, which was created in 1932. For details about its creation and development, see Yáñez, *La Intervención social en Chile*, 2008, 31-50.

²⁹ “Estadística que nos avergüenza”. *La Luz*, 13, January 26, 1913.

³⁰ *Ideas directivas para la Acción Social Católica presentadas por el Ilmo. Señor D. Rafael Edwards y aprobadas por la Conferencia Episcopal de 1921* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1921), 3.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 4

was “atheist, materialistic, violent, unjust, utopist, pretended an impossible equality, and denied family, fatherland, and property.”³³ Therefore, solution could be only within what “justice mandated and with a spirit of Christian charity.”³⁴

This position was also central on the thought of Martin Rücker. Although agreeing that the decline of religious spirit lay at the heart of the Social Question, he focused on that the fundamental characteristic of the Social Question was the “antagonism between social classes; namely, the struggle between the leader part and the part directed by the leaders.”³⁵ He maintained that although the existence of both classes were due to God’s will, and the “power of employers and power of worker are two entities that understand each other and that through contract, define the conditions of work,”³⁶ a problem emerged when this balance fractured. “Human will,” he wrote, “when twisted by passions, tramples this balance once and for all, and introduces to both sides serious inconveniences resulting in the most terrible antagonism between capital and labor.”³⁷ Neglecting religious duties caused in rich people a “lack of charity, excess of selfishness, exaggerated wishes for acquiring inherited states, a dangerous love for luxury items and a comfortable life, narrow-mindedness towards loving their neighbor, failing of the concept of justice.” In the poor, on the other hand, a lack of religion caused “inappropriate obstinacy, separation from those memories that soften life through the

³³ Ibid., 5.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Martín Rücker, “La Cuestión Social y la Iglesia,” lecture at the “Social Assembly of Buin,” in *Conferencias Populares*, III, 1915, 50.

³⁶ Martín Rücker, “El Obrero y el Paganismo,” lecture at the “Society of Lourdes,” in the city of Los Andes, *Conferencias Populares*, I, 1914, 83.

³⁷ Martín Rücker, “Bosquejo de un Programa de Acción Social Católica,” lecture at the “Social Assembly of Llay-Llay,” in *Conferencias Populares*, I, 1914, 153.

lovable Christian hope, easiness in listening only about right and not duties [and] letting themselves convinced very quickly by hatred.”³⁸

Yet, Rücker noted with some relief that in Chile the development of socialist groups was recent, and the problem “has not turned into the a serious one as it had in Europe.” But he cautioned that it was nonetheless necessary to “prevent our people letting themselves being taken in by the false splendor of Socialism; in order to obtain this aim, the socialists’ ambitions and claims have to be well known.” Rücker finished his lecture cautioning that although many of the socialists’ demands were fair, most were unfair.³⁹ Despite the subtle difference, the three priests, as the rest of the Church, certainly, were concerned about the possibility of workers forsaking religion to follow new ideologies based on “hatred and spite. “and replace these with a sincere practice of Christian principles. “The worker never has been more unfortunate than when he has distanced himself from religious teaching,” Rücker concluded, “and he never has been happier than when he has developed all his capabilities in the shade of the Catholic Church.”⁴⁰

In July 1913, a writer in *La Luz* underscored the importance of Catholicism in reversing all kind of social ills:

What would happen if everybody were a practicing Catholic? Would there be bad parents? Bad children? Bad wives or mothers? No. Would there be drunkenness, felonious games, fights? No. Would there be miscreants? Would there be houses of prostitution? Houses to poison human blood and make men unhappy? Certainly not. Would there be robberies? No. And if there were no crime, would jail be necessary? Of course not. Would judges have any work to do? No, for sure.⁴¹

³⁸ Martín Rücker, “La Cuestión Social y la Iglesia,” lecture at the “Social Assembly of Buin,” in *Conferencias Populares*, III, 1915, 52.

³⁹ Martín Rücker, “La Igualdad Social,” lecture at the “League of Work,” in *Conferencias Populares*, I, 1914, 177.

⁴⁰ Martín Rücker, “El Obrero a través de la Historia,” lecture at the “Vicuña Mackenna Center” belonging to the social association “National Union,” in *Conferencias Populares*, I, 1914, 31.

⁴¹ “Al buen sentido del pueblo,” *La Luz*, 36, July 8, 1913.

Accordingly, Rücker did not hesitate to declare that the “Church has solved the Social Question, and for that we have to address the asking of advice to the Church.”⁴² Edwards, in a similar vein, proposed religious instruction as the proper method to respond to the Social Question:

I think and maintain that the first is to instruct, the most necessary thing is to instill in people respect and charity; it cannot be that hatred be preached from the pulpit, against anybody; and it is even worse if it was against a Catholic brother, and instead of loving him, he is severely criticized for having wealth, owning a factory or any other similar reason.⁴³

FACING THE SOCIAL QUESTION

Caro’s approaches to combat socialism and to address the Social Question was to promoted lectures and organize conferences. For example, in June, 1913, he founded the *Centro de Estudios* (Center of Studies), where scientific, historical and social lectures related to Catholicism were held. The purpose of the institution was “to spread issues that are being attacked.”⁴⁴ The free meetings were held at Caro’s vicarage and although the invitation went to “all Catholics who wished to be part of this important center,” five weeks after its creation, a notice in *La Luz* specified that “we specially invite workers.”⁴⁵ A selection of lectures featured at these events were titled: “A picture of human science,” “The spontaneous generation,”⁴⁶ “The creation of the Light,” “Relations between workers and bourgeoisie,”⁴⁷ “Darwinism (man’s origin),” and “The condition of workers in the province.”⁴⁸ Priests or laymen committed to the ideal of workers’ instruction presented

⁴² Martín Rücker, “Bosquejo de un Programa de Acción Social Católica,” lecture at the “Social Assembly of Llay-Llay,” in *Conferencias Populares*, I, 1914, 153.

⁴³ “Conversando con el Illmo. señor Obispo de Dodona, Dr. Don Rafael Edwards,” *LRC*, T40, 1921, 366.

⁴⁴ “Centro de Estudios,” *La Luz*, 34, June 22, 1913.

⁴⁵ “Centro de Estudios,” *La Luz*, 40, August 3, 1913. The invitation was published also in the numbers 42, 28 and 59 of the newspaper.

⁴⁶ “Centro de Estudios,” *La Luz*, 42, August 17, 1913.

⁴⁷ “Centro de Estudios,” *La Luz*, 44, August 31, 1913.

⁴⁸ “Centro de Estudios,” *La Luz*, 48, September 28, 1913.

the lectures. Among the speakers, two stood out. The lecture by the carpenter Ángel Sotomayor, entitled “The conditions of workers inside and outside Christianity,”⁴⁹ shows that some of the efforts succeeded, as members of the working class were also able to teach it to other working-class men. The other noteworthy lecture was delivered by the priest Juan Claudel, who spoke about the working conditions of coal miners in the south of Chile, “describing a descent to the mine he made himself.”⁵⁰

The press was the other tool used to enlighten workers. Caro’s efforts were so ambitious as to take special measures to promote the newspaper in the entire province. In a secret note he sent to the parish priests of Tarapacá on January 1, 1913, Caro encouraged them to do all they could to disseminate and promote *La Luz* and to obtain funding to publish it: “I hope that the priests make their best in order to get this small piece of paper penetrates in every home.” He also urged the priests to sell subscriptions to *La Luz* or at least to promote the financial support of the “Alcancía de la Buena Prensa” (Moneybox of the good press), and, if it were necessary, to appeal directly to the wealthiest persons of the village to support the endeavor. He also kept himself informed constantly about the number of copies of *La Luz* distributed.⁵¹

Rücker, in turn, in a lecture delivered specially to talk about the press, said that: “the problem of the press is a life-or-death problem for us.”⁵² He identified three kind of press: the good one, the bad one and the neutral one. The first is good only when it is Catholic. Obviously, the bad press were those periodicals written by socialists and anarchists. But he particularly warned about the danger of the neutral press, which, he

⁴⁹ “Centro de Estudios,” *La Luz*, 43, August 24, 1913.

⁵⁰ “Centro de Estudios,” *La Luz*, 59, December 14, 1913.

⁵¹ José María Caro, “Circular reservada dirigida a los señores párrocos y demás sacerdotes de Tarapacá”, January 1, 1913, reproducen in Vanherk, 167-175; quote from page 174.

⁵² Martín Rücker, “La Importancia de la Prensa,” lecture at the “Assembly of the Good Press,” in *Conferencias Populares*, II, 1915, 97.

believed because of its religious neutrality, was as insidious as the bad press. If there is no doctrine, no aspiration and no motive to defend, the neutral press “produces skepticism in the spirit, fatuous flames of rationalism, [...], a lethal poison in the soul that eradicates all the passion and love for God and the Holy Church.”⁵³

Lastly, creating Catholic sociability was the most important tool in the ecclesiastical program, as the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* recommended. In a lecture delivered to a group of workers at the Catholic University, Rücker argued, “The Social Question will be satisfactorily solved only if you focus on the promotion of mutual benefit associations based on Christian spirit.”⁵⁴ Thus, he pointed out, “Teaching has to continue after school [...]. In workers’ circles, mutual benefit associations, patronatos, and meeting centers much can be achieved.”⁵⁵ He called for study circles across society, “either those of the high class or the ones of the working class, there must be those circles,” he demanded. “In their bosom, issues related not only to sociology have to be studied but also those issues related to religion.”⁵⁶ He also called for the restoration of Medieval trade guilds, which had disappearance after to the French Revolution. These, he argued, were essential because “History teaches us how the Church had favored workers by creating associations and guilds where poor found well-being, a future, peace, and insured life.”⁵⁷

Rafael Edwards also focused on guilds but he clarified that while some identified labor unions with economic improvements for workers, although supporting this aspect

⁵³ Ibid., 99.

⁵⁴ Martín Rücker, “Bosquejo de un Programa de Acción Social Católica,” lecture at the “Social Assembly of Llay-Llay,” in *Conferencias Populares*, I, 1914, 155.

⁵⁵ Martín Rücker, “La Ignorancia Religiosa en los Tiempos Actuales,” lecture to the workers at the Catholic University, in *Conferencias Populares*, II, 1915, 163.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Martín Rücker, “Los Triunfos de la Iglesia,” lecture at the “Constantinian Assembly of Talca,” in *Conferencias Populares*, III, 1915, 191.

and the “new methods on social apostolate,” he gave preference to “the supernatural element. [...] I support syndicalism but with a solid basis of Christian faith.”⁵⁸ Thus, labor unions must be Christian. He identified two requirements for this: the unions could not to contradict Catholic doctrine, and they needed to enlist the services of priest, nominated by the Bishop, who could veto any resolution taken by the union that were against religion. Edwards emphasized that clergy should not have a technical role within the labor unions, but should merely oversee them, providing moral direction.⁵⁹ Other posts had to be occupied by civilians and laypeople, whom the Church was responsible for getting them instructed.⁶⁰ Finally, guilds had to be also non-violent, had to pursue the well-being of the group by having in mind the common interest, rather than simply that of a particular individual; and they had to work in collaboration with others social classes.⁶¹

In *La Luz*, Caro supported greatly Catholic workers’ associations by extensively covering the activities of the “Sociedad de San Gerardo” and the “Sociedad de Santa Filomena.” The newspaper, constantly published notices about the works of both societies, summons to members’ meeting, parties of the society and lists of the board of directors after elections. By pursuing the wellbeing of workers, societies also prevented them from choosing socialism. In the piece in *La Luz* about the foundation of the Society of Saint Gerard, the reporter contended:

There is not any temporary and honest advantage that worker cannot reach by keeping his religious belief, which is the opposite of Socialism. The best testimonies are those of the workers of the Catholic Belgium, who have achieved the highest level of enlightenment and economic prosperity by fighting against Socialism and Freemasonry. In this province, Catholics can associate as well; they have the ‘Social Union of Saint Gerard’ or the ‘Social Order,’ where they find the

⁵⁸ “Conversando con el Illmo. señor Obispo de Dodona, Dr. Don Rafael Edwards,” *LRC*, T40, 1921, 366

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 367.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ideas directivas para la Acción Social Católica*, 5.

same benefits as in any other mutual benefit association and without as many contributions as the ones supported by Socialism.⁶²

The public activity of these organizations, and the natural publicity of lectures and the press demonstrate what historian Sol Serrano has convincingly called the “modern publicity” of Catholicism.⁶³

THEIR VISION OF THE STATE

Did Rücker, Caro and Edwards discuss the issue of State intervention in solving social problems? As I pointed out in chapter two, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, Catholic social thought on the role of the State in the solution of the Social Question evolved from a hardline view that State intervention was desirable only when it was needed, to a recognition of the need for regulations before problems arose. However, the question of the State was not always present in the writings of these three priests wrote. Their concern with this problem largely depended on the audience for which they were writing. Edwards talked strongly about the state in non-religious meetings, Rücker only to the elite, and Caro only once and it was accessorial to his main point.

Between December 25, 1908, and January 5, 1909, Rafael Edwards attended the “Fourth Scientific Congress (1st Panamerican),” celebrated in Chile.⁶⁴ He presented a paper at the section of “Economic and Social Sciences” entitled “Necesidad de Institutos de Reforma Social como medida de preparar la legislación social obrera.” He started by

⁶² “Advertencia,” *La Luz*, 47, September 21, 1913.

⁶³ Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la república?*, 343.

⁶⁴ The “Scientific Congress” was “the first and the most important international scientific association of Latin America at the beginning of the twentieth century,” and had five versions between 1898 and 1916: Buenos Aires (1898), Montevideo (1901), Río de Janeiro (1905), Santiago (1908-1909) y Washington (1915-1916). An original initiative of the Sociedad Científica Argentina -although both public and private institutions and persons participated- the congresses aimed to put the focus on scientific values over political differences among American countries. Oscar Calvo, “Conocimiento desinteresado y ciencia americana. El Congreso Científico (1895-1916),” *Historia Crítica* 45 (Sept-Dec 2011): 86-113. The quote is from page 87.

identifying two types of democracies: political and social. Political democracy came about with the independence and the formation of republics in Latin-American countries. This democracy secured public freedom. However, in reality, not all the inhabitants of the country could practice that freedom, which would be the ideal for a social democracy. Workers were not yet incorporated because they did not have the necessary well-being like the others social groups. Only when that could change, political democracy would turn into social democracy.

The State, Edwards argued, had a very important role on this evolution towards social democracy because “its role was not only the defense of everybody’s rights but also de promotion of public prosperity.”⁶⁵ Furthermore, a country could achieve public prosperity only when the “most numerous and weakest” of the society prospered. He warned that some could interpret this opinion like “State socialism.” However, he did not care: “Why do we care of an adjective when what matters is to repair injustices and to contribute to the happiness of the workers?”⁶⁶

After his diagnosis, he developed his main idea, which involved the role of the State in securing the wellbeing of the working class. “The State cannot be impassible before the very painful situation in which the multitudes are today,” he argued. “They are pestered by a series of harm and oppressed by moral and economic miseries.” He did not only demand a governmental action, because, he suggested, the state could not just follow theories or adopt fashionable policies without knowing reality. Political authorities, Edwards argued, had to take into account not only the condition of workers but also their aspirations. To do this, he proposed the creation of “Social Reform Institutes” or

⁶⁵ Rafael Edwards Salas, “Necesidad de Institutos de Reforma Social como medida de preparar la legislación social obrera,” in *Trabajos de la VII sección Ciencias Económicas y Social del Cuarto Congreso Científico (1 ° Panamericano) celebrado en Santiago De Chile del 25 de diciembre de 1908 al 5 de enero de 1909* vol. 1 (Santiago: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación “Barcelona,” 1911), 143.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.

“National Department of Work” in every country of the region. The agency should not be concerned only with statistical analysis; rather, it had to prepare the social legislation for the country according to the “practical knowledge of the necessities of the nation” and considering the experiences of other places as well. This last point is very important for Edwards because he asserted that social legislation raised the price of production; thus, countries without social legislation would be in a better position to sell their products.⁶⁷

At first sight, it is very strange Edwards authored this text mainly because it did not have a religious approach, but also because Edwards in his previous work had not been concerned about the State either. As I discussed in a previous chapter, there is one text in *LRC* in 1921 about the State that he might have written but since it did not have any author, I prefer not to be conclusive on this. Besides, the severity of the analysis on democracy as well as the categorical ideas about the State’s responsibility, were not common within the period and even less within the elite.

The singularity of the text might be because of the audience to which it was presented. The meetings of the Scientific Congresses were not for the masses but instead, “events reserved for learned minorities.”⁶⁸ In fact, some of Edwards’ ideas on political and social democracy remind his introduction to the translation he did of Toniolo’s work in 1898: “Our political programs continue being adorned with the old formulas of freedom of the press, freedom of association, protection to national industry, equality before the law, and others futile phrases that express already acquired rights, who nobody denies.”⁶⁹

Although it might have been due to the scientific nature of the meeting, it is noteworthy that Edwards did not make any allusion to the role of the Church in the

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Calvo, “Conocimiento desinteresado y ciencia americana,” 89.

⁶⁹ Edwards, “Introducción,” 5-6.

promotion of social democracy at the Scientific Congress. It was not a “religious language.” Only at the end of his intervention, Edwards said: “Twenty centuries ago, my Master, when he saw gathered around him the huge crowd, which was eager of solace, love and justice, gave to the people a look with infinite charity and said: ‘Misereor super turbam.’ I feel sorry for the crowd.”⁷⁰ That was, he concluded, what the State had to do. Edwards’ call to act like “Mi Maestro,” might be understood like a call to act like Catholics. Still, he did not use that word explicitly.

Unlike Edwards, Rücker did not speak specifically about the State. There is no lecture in his *Conferencias Populares* about it. He referred briefly to the subject only in two lectures where the primary audience was not the working class. On his book *Problemas Sociales* (1913) that contains articles already published in newspapers, he stated in a text entitled “Derecho al trabajo” that the State should have a concern with the population in general, not on specific individuals. The State should ensure the common good; therefore, it could intervene only when there was a public danger or disturbance, like in the case of strikes.⁷¹ Rücker also spoke on the subject on a lecture to law students of the Catholic University in mid-1910s. He said that talking about the State intervention on social problems was a sensitive matter because it was very easy to fall into any of two opposite mistakes: individualism (no state intervention), and socialism (absolute state power). Rücker accepted a “legal, wise and prudent” state intervention to prevent workers be defenseless before employers who “not always followed principles of justice.”⁷² Capital and work, he added, were antagonistic in economic terms because they represented opposite interests.

⁷⁰ Rafael Edwards, “Necesidad de Institutos de Reforma Social,” 144.

⁷¹ Martín Rücker, “Derecho al trabajo,” *Problemas Sociales* (Santiago: Imprenta y Encuadernación Chile, 1913), 29.

⁷² Martín Rücker, “Orientaciones de acción social, con motivo del XXV aniversario de la Encíclica Rerum Novarum,” *Notas Universitarias correspondientes a 1915 y 1916* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1917), 48.

Workers were the weakest in this relationship; for that, Rücker thought that some legislation was necessary in favor of the working class. Among the subjects that the State had to legislate were hygienic condition of factories, work schedule, work's accidents, life's insurance, women and children work, night works, Sunday rest, loan banks in urban and rural areas, and worker's housing. Rücker understood social legislation as something concerning only working class because it was something they needed: "the lack of social legislation is a tragedy for the poor," he concluded.⁷³ Hence, there was still a conception of the State that should not interfere freedom of population. In other words, State intervention came after social problems arose; it was not something in the nature of the State.

Finally, Caro just mentioned once, and very tangentially, the involvement of the state in the Social Question. In his article about how priests are the best persons to solve social issues because they could mediate the rich and the poor, he stated: "Mixed court, regulating laws for work, protection to women and children, accidents' prevention: here it is what liberalism has given to resolve the so-called Social Questions."⁷⁴

To reiterate, the approach of Rücker, Caro, and Edwards depended on their audiences. Workers, although they had to be instructed on social issues in general, were not the aim of the talks or articles on State matters because the elite was responsible for making law. The cases of Edwards in the Scientific Congress and Rücker at the university are clear. Indeed, the "Law Center" at the Catholic University was founded in 1910 with the purpose of preparing the students to face "the challenges of a world in which material interest and individual selfishness prevailed."⁷⁵ To achieve that, in their

⁷³ Ibid., 49.

⁷⁴ "Los frailes y los obreros," *La Luz*, 9, December 29, 1912.

⁷⁵ Krebs, *Historia de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*, vol. 1, 132. Following the example of the Law Center, the university founded centers in the courses of Engineering, Architecture, Agronomy, and Sub-Engineering. Ibid.

meetings there were presentations that studied “those topics which were not covered or were not studied in depth during regular classes,” as in Rücker’s lecture.⁷⁶ As he noted in the introduction to his book *Notas Universitarias*, “The Centers has also the mission of opening forecasts to the future professionals.”⁷⁷ Finally, for Caro, the particularities of Iquique’s society and the sometimes-tense relationship between the Church and the government in the region contributed that the study of state intervention did not received attention in *La Luz*.

MODERN CLOTHES FOR TRADITION

What remained in the three priests was their vision on poverty and the attitude of poor towards their condition and place in society. Therefore, although the priests tried to stop the suffering of the working class, they justified their resignation to poverty because adversities in life would allow people go to heaven after death. Caro pointed out:

Priests spend their lives saying to rich men ‘Give to the poor, favor the weak; be merciful with the unfortunate person. And to the poor, they say ‘Be patient about your condition; look often to heaven and not often to earth, see how God chose poverty in the nativity scene and to adorn Himself with it while He stayed on earth.’⁷⁸

Nevertheless, this message, in time, began to fall on deaf ears, as Edwards recognized. For getting this instruction, it was crucial that workers attend mass, as Edwards recommended in 1921 to the commission in charge of preparing the Second Eucharistic Congress: “Workers have stopped, almost completely, mass’ attendance, ignoring that in the mass, by the means of preaching and the holy sacrifice, they could find the enough strength to bear the suffering of their lives and solace and light for their

⁷⁶ Ibid., 133.

⁷⁷ Rücker, “Orientaciones de acción social,” 3.

⁷⁸ “Los frailes y los obreros,” *La Luz*, 9, December 29, 1912.

souls.”⁷⁹ Rücker, in turn, emphasized that life on earth did not have to be necessarily synonymous with happiness: “Perfect happiness will never come to us during this life. [...]. Suffering is the legacy that humanity harvested at its dawn, and suffering have been passed on along every time in every nation.”⁸⁰

Other principle of the Christian social order is its patriarchal and hierarchical organization. Assistance to the poor had to help them overcome misery, but not to climb up the social ladder. And those who were above, those who had the “culture and social position,” as Edwards said, “should lead by example; [they should] respect traditions, love spiritual life, and have a practical and sincere Christian faith.”⁸¹ Charity, in addition, worked to prevent social conflicts: “It is simple, clear and logical that what has to be done is that the poor approach the rich through Christian respect, and the rich have to approach the poor through charity. The rest is vague verbiage, dreams, utopia or absurdity.”⁸²

Accordingly, the Catholic definition of equality followed the patriarchal ideal as had been pointed out by Leo XIII in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. For Caro, this was clear: “It is a fact that all the individuals whose union forms a community are unequal in physical strength, in intelligence, and in talent; so some of them have become stronger and developed more skills than others who have become inactive.” He concluded by saying that “wanting complete equality in everything, in wealth, in class position, in jobs, in salaries, is to go against nature and good sense.”⁸³

⁷⁹ Rafael Edwards, *Acción y Reparación. A las comisiones preparatorias del Congreso Eucarístico* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Chile, 1921), 2-3.

⁸⁰ Martín Rücker, “Las Desigualdades Sociales,” lecture at the “Society for Education and Housing of Workers” in *Conferencias Populares*, III, 1915, 65-66.

⁸¹ Edwards, *Acción y Reparación*, 3.

⁸² “Los frailes y los obreros,” *La Luz*, 9, December 29, 1912.

⁸³ “Libertad, Igualdad, Fraternidad,” *La Luz*, 40, August 3, 1913.

Rücker added that people could be equal in theory, but “in particular, our rights are unequal.” Even more, God mandated inequality, “and so we have to be very thankful to him.”⁸⁴ Nevertheless, he recognized that when social inequalities caused “a harsh brush” in society, it can be solved by means of legal regulations in order to protect workers: “Social legislation [...] in a very special way must look after worker’s tranquility and watch that law based on the virtue of justice is obeyed.”⁸⁵ Yet, social order should not be modified; still, actions in favor of workers had to have as their final purpose the support of a paternalistic social organization: “If the poor person considers the rich person as a patron and protector, if he sees in him a real father, we cannot understand how hate between them is possible.”⁸⁶

CONCLUSION

Martín Rücker, José María Caro, and Rafael Edwards write on social issues but, certainly, had some differences on the language they used. Edwards’ texts seem more elaborated than Caro and Rücker and this was because they aimed their messages to different audiences. Edwards, with his concern on democracy -in which I will delve into in the next chapter- and his work as director of the Catholic Social Action, had to send guidelines to Catholics in general, and it was part of his job. It did not mean that Edwards was compelled to do his job, but my point here is that Caro and Rücker talked mainly to workers and they did it because they wanted to. There was not a direct order to them from the Archbishopric. They were part of general concern of the Catholic Church on social issues, but they fulfilled their jobs above and beyond the call of duty.

⁸⁴ Martín Rücker, “La Igualdad Social,” lecture at the “League of Work,” in *Conferencias Populares*, I, 1914, 183.

⁸⁵ Martín Rücker, “Las Desigualdades Sociales,” lecture at the “Society for Education and Housing of Workers” in *Conferencias Populares*, III, 1915, 63.

⁸⁶ Martín Rücker, “Las Huelgas,” lecture to the workers at the Catholic University, in *Conferencias Populares*, III, 1915, 25.

Still, all their texts demonstrate the key points of the Catholic interpretation of Chilean modernization. That interpretation was precisely this: in social terms, workers had to be educated through lectures, the press, and Catholic associations. However, beyond that, which was the true nature of Chilean social Catholic thought? Should we talk about an institution which had one voice, or instead, about a group of people with different opinions? The way the Chilean Catholic Church faced modernity was more complex than the simple dichotomy between progressivism and traditionalism. There were several factors: the rigid doctrine from the Vatican; the particular circumstances of Chilean society and differences within the provinces; and the perpetuation through time of a certain way of social organization determined by Catholicism four centuries before.

Chapter 6: The Origin of the Concept of Christian Democracy within the Chilean Catholic Church, 1891-1920

INTRODUCTION

In 1964, Eduardo Frei Montalva became the first President of the Republic of Chile from the Christian Democratic Party, founded only seven years before. However, that political party had a long history. At the beginning of the 1930s, Frei and others founders were members of the Youth of the Conservative Party. Those were the years when the statement of principles of the party included the support to the “Catholic Social Order” which, according to the guidelines from the Vatican, was obedience to the Gospel when it referred to the relations between social classes.¹ This was the Vatican’s direct response to the social, political, and economic changes that Western societies were experiencing due to industrialization, as previous chapters have shown.

Chile was no exception. My argument in this chapter is that by the beginning of the twentieth century, the notion of Christian Democracy referred to a theological approach towards political modernity and not to a political ideology open to include others beliefs, as the Christian Democrat Party stated fifty years later. By 1964, the party was a “global planning,” as the historian Mario Góngora argued in his classic *Ensayo histórico sobre la noción del Estado en Chile en los siglos XIX y XX*. Christian Democracy, along with socialism (represented by Allende) and neoliberalism (represented by Pinochet), aimed to make radical changes in the country, transformations that would reconfigure the entire organization of society.²

¹ Leo XIII, *Graves de Communi Re*, 1904, in http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_18011901_graves-de-communi-re.html. Accessed on December 18, 2013.

² Mario Góngora, *Ensayo histórico sobre la noción de Estado en Chile en los siglos XIX y XX* (Santiago: Ediciones La Ciudad, Santiago, 1981), 126-138.

One of the aims of this chapter is to highlight the importance of the topic not only for the past but also for the future. For the past, I will demonstrate that the concept of Christian Democracy is an integral part in the debates about secularization. Scholarly normally date those debates in the nineteenth century being its main expression the enactment of the so-called “Lay Laws” in the 1880s, as I have recalled several times in this dissertation. Nevertheless, historians eventually lost interest in the political aspect of these discussions and concentrated on the social activity of the Catholic Church, demonstrating, perhaps unintentionally, that these two things are different. I will prove, though, that political discussions about both secularization and social issues merged in the term “Christian Democracy.” Lastly, this theme is important for the future because it explains the development of one the most influential political parties in the twentieth century in Chile.

I will begin with a brief review of the bibliography that has studied the idea of “Christian Democracy” in Europe, Latin America, and Chile. Next, I will show the Chilean Catholic thought about democracy at the beginning of the 20th century by analyzing articles published in *La Revista Católica*; speeches by priests at the First National Eucharistic Congress; and the participation of Father Rafael Edwards in several conventions of the Conservative Party. Next, I will do a brief study of the relation between the idea of Christian Democracy and corporatism by the beginning of 1920s. Finally, in the conclusion I will do a general assessment of the idea of Christian Democracy within the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy and its relation to the Catholic social thought in the beginning of the century.

HISTORIOGRAPHY ABOUT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

Currently, Chilean historiography has not considered the evolution that the term “Christian Democracy” has experienced through time. To begin with, interpretations of

the struggles between Catholic Church and the Chilean State regarding laicization and secularization stopped with the “Lay Laws” in the 1880’s decade. For example, historian Cristián Gazmuri, in his biography of Eduardo Frei Montalva, states that “during the first decades of the twentieth century, the fight secular-clerical dissipated,” with the separation between Church and State the only lasting problem.³ He also points out how disinterested Conservative politicians were in social issues. He observes that by 1910, “the main crusades of conservatives by that time were to defend religious education and the supremacy of the Church to lead the nation.”⁴ Even more, he affirms that the arrival of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 by no means affected this disinterest, since by that year “only small groups of conservatives began to worry about the ‘Social Question’ following the ideas of the Pope Leo XIII.”⁵

This chapter disputes these findings. As I will show with the minutes of the conventions of the Conservative Party, social problems were one of the main concerns of the party. According Conservatives, social problems were very important since they represented a danger for the Christian social order. As the documents of the conventions of the Conservative Party indicate, social issues were indeed present in most of the discussions, although they viewed them through their particular paternalistic view. On the other hand, within the Church, (highly connected to the Conservative Party as the interventions of Father Rafael Edwards will show), the social problem was as important as freedom of teaching, for example. Everything was part of the big fight against secularization. Finally, Gazmuri also says that the Chilean Church was divided between conservatives and progressives regarding how to face the social problem, being the firsts who dominated the hierarchy. Among the priests with a strong social concern, Gazmuri

³ Cristián Gazmuri. *Eduardo Frei Montalva y su época*, Tomo I. (Santiago: Aguilar, 2000), 55.

⁴ Ibid, 31.

⁵ Ibid.

identifies several clergies whose work we have already explored, including Fernando Vives Solar, Jorge Fernández Pradel, Juan Ignacio González, y Martín Rücker.

Historians seem to show similar confusion when talking about the term of “Christian Democracy.” The volume about the twentieth century of the collection *Teología en América Latina* (edited by Josep-Ignasi Saranyana), does a correct interpretation of the general context of Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*’s significance for Latin America. The authors assert that the document demonstrates an “awareness” of the social problems caused by capitalism, which, certainly, does not mean that before the document there would not have been any concern about them. Saranyana’s works gives to social Catholicism a political relevance that it did not have when it started. He says that there were two principles for social action within the Church in that period: “the worker question, and the political repercussion of Catholicism.”⁶ The main mistake is that he identifies as different two aspects that had the same goal: to defend the Catholic nature of society.

As I demonstrated in chapter three, the concern within the Church for the political use that some could make of Catholicism was only since mid 1910s. Previously, as I will show in this chapter, politics had nothing to do, in the discourse of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, with the social action in favor of the poor. Other weakness of Saranyana’s text is that, when the authors define the differences within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, they identify two sectors: one “traditional” and “conservative,” and another one with “political visions connected to democratic proposals.”⁷ That political meaning of “democratic” is more accurate for current times, but it was not how the Catholic Church understood democracy one hundred years ago.

⁶ Saranyana, 202.

⁷ Ibid, 204.

Priests still were dealing with how to adjust religion into modernity. Could they use the word “democracy”? What were the implications of using that word? Could it mean that workers would gain more agency? Democracy, as modernity, has to be dissected to understand how it was defined in every period. Here it is where the main problem arises. The authors trace the emergence of Christian Democracy (as a political term) in Chile and in Latin America more broadly speaking to the publication in 1898 of the translation, by Father Rafael Edwards, of the text *La verdadera democracia* (The real democracy) authored by Italian sociologist Giuseppe Toniolo. The authors finish saying that, by the third decade of the twentieth century, Catholic Church decided to expand its presence within Latin American societies not only through politics but also “from what today is known as civil society.”⁸ While it is true that lay action received stimulus in this period, first with the creation of the Catholic Action by the Vatican in 1922 and after with his reaffirmation in 1931 with the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, the social action of the Church was always considered as something outside of politics. When it is said that “the main point of confrontation” between “conservatives” and “reformists” within the Church “was the conception of the social role -and at the same time the political role- of the Church,” the authors seem to overpass that the term “social” was in the middle of the public debate, not only within the Church. They also make the mistake of considering socialism and liberalism as only political ideologies and not as ideologies that cover culture and economy as well.

John Lynch, in his recent *New Worlds: A Religious History of Latin America*, follows the argument of Saranyana about the differences within the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy and the alleged role of Rafael Edwards on the birth of Christian Democracy in Chile. It is surprising how these two works do not pay attention to the ideas of the

⁸ Ibid, 205.

Encyclical *Graves de Communi Re*, a papal document that clearly established in 1901 that Christian Democracy is not related to politics. The mistake, perhaps, has its explanation in the meaning of the books. Both are general histories, giving an overview of Latin American in a broad span of time. Thus, for example, Lynch is wrong when he states “the presence of Christian Democracy within the Church accentuated the division between conservatives and progressives for many years to come.”⁹ This may be true for the 1930s, but not for when Rafael Edwards translated Toniolo into Spanish or participated in the Eucharistic Congress in 1904. In fact, in his next chapter, John Lynch seems to rectify the mistake by saying that “Christian Democracy had its roots in Europe and was transplanted to Latin America in the 1930s”¹⁰ and that in Chile, “the first Christian Democrat activists were inspired by the ideas and example of Fernando Vives Solar”¹¹. Rafael Edwards disappears from the account.

Lastly, Ricardo Krebs in *La Iglesia de América Latina en el siglo XIX*, highlights the struggle against anti-clericalism that Catholic Church had in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹² About the Social Question, Krebs affirms that the Church slowly recognized, first, the social problems that workers were experiencing due to industrialization and, second, that charitable actions were not enough and justice was needed along with charity. “By the end of the nineteenth century [...] a modern and social awareness appeared among Latin American Catholics, along with the conviction that new institutions and new methods to fight poverty and social injustice were necessary.”¹³ As any other general book, Krebs does not analyze the meaning of the terms used. Such is the case of the concept of “social justice.”

⁹ Lynch, *New Worlds*, 239.

¹⁰ Ibid, 275.

¹¹ Ibid, 276.

¹² Krebs, *La Iglesia de América Latina*, 270.

¹³ Ibid, 297.

Central problems had an ideological and political character. Along the nineteenth century, the Church performed an intense charitable labor. Only by the end of the century, it began to face the new social problems using a modern standard. Only in the twentieth century, the social problem would be a main problem for the Church.¹⁴

What does Krebs mean when he says “modern standard”? Besides, it is not that for the Church some kinds of problems were more important than others. Ideological and political issues were as relevant as social ones by the beginning of the twentieth century.

FOLLOWING THE VATICAN. THE ENCYCLICAL *GRAVES DE COMMUNI RE*.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, contributors of *La Revista Católica* started to discuss and analyze the concept of “democracy” as it was promoted by the Vatican documents, particularly, the encyclical *Graves de Communi Re*, issued in September 1901. The main purpose of the text was to clarify the real meaning of the concept “Christian Democracy.” According to the Encyclical, the term referred to all those activities performed by the Church (including laymen) in favor of workers and people (pueblo) in general. Pope Leo XIII said that these activities were known under two denominations: “Popular Christian Action” and “Christian Democracy.” The Pope declared, “many excellent men find the term Christian Democracy objectionable[;] they hold it to be very ambiguous,” because the term could seem to support the “popular government and to disparage other methods of political administration.” Besides, the Pope continued, in a phrase that seems unusual for a pontiff whose nickname was the “workingman’s pope,” the term seems to affect “religion by restricting its scope to the care of the poor, as if the other sections of society were not of its concern.” Leo XIII concludes saying that this makes the idea, on those people, that “under the shadow of its

¹⁴ Ibid.

name there might easily lurk a design to attack all legitimate power, either civil or sacred.”¹⁵

In order to dissipate the fear, Leo XIII, defines three fundamental characteristics of Christian Democracy. First, Christian Democracy did not have any relation with politics, because “the laws of nature and of the Gospel, which by right are superior to all human contingencies, are necessarily independent of all particular forms of civil government.” As religious power came from God, any other political power was under religion. Second, although it was true that the main concern of Christian democracy was the working class, this did not mean that Church were not worried for higher classes. This would be against “[t]he Christian law of charity [...]. For it embraces all men, irrespective of ranks, as members of one and the same family, children of the same most beneficent Father.” Third and last, the Pope stated that Christian Democracy did not promote disobedience; quite the opposite, it was mandatory for Catholics to obey their Bishop. This reaffirmed that Christian Democracy had a religious focus and not a political one.

Leo XIII’s words were welcomed in Chile. In 1901, in the international section of the journal, *La Revista Católica* saluted the celebration of a congress held by an association called “Italian Christian Democracy,” whose chair was a Cardinal. Although the note nothing says about what kind of activities this association carried out, the author was pleased with “its excellent results” and with its expansion in Italy.¹⁶ Two years later, when commenting the Motu Proprio of Pope Pius X about the “Catholic Popular Action” (another denomination for Christian Democracy”) in December, 1903, the journal highlights how dangerous socialism can be:

¹⁵ Leo XIII, *Graves de Communi Re*.

¹⁶ “Variedades: Movimiento católico en Italia,” *LRC*, October 15, 1901, num. 6, 276. Sobre el Cardenal Agliati: <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bagliardi.html>

if leaders and public men, journalists and writers, ‘patrones’ and workers, ponder for an instant and with good will, the small text that came from the Vatican, with notes from Pope Leo XIII’s encyclicals, they would find the only and complete solution to the Social Question, and the monster of socialism would die¹⁷.

Yet, the journal had already talked about Christian Democracy. Three months earlier of this last piece, in the new section “Social Studies” appeared a text entitled “Historical Reason of Christian Democracy.” Its purpose was to clarify the concept of “Christian Democracy” in order to distinguish it from socialism. The author started by pointing out that Christian Democracy was the “ultimate expression of modern Catholic thought,”¹⁸ positioning the term between socialism and “ultra-conservatives.” This two groups, also, considered Christian democracy as part of the other group. While socialists thought that Christian Democracy was conservative, conservatives said that Christian Democracy was socialist. Both groups were wrong, the author argued, because the history of the Church, since the very birth of Jesus, had been a democratic history as the Church was founded by a “worker God, son of workers, also the Apostles were workers, and the first Christians too.”¹⁹

However, liberalism is as disastrous as socialism, the article says. And this was because liberalism was the

momentary representative of evil. [...]. In the contemporary world, there are two forces face to face: Christianity and liberalism. [The last one] is destined to disappear [because] Christianity is the everlasting truth. [...] Liberalism is founded on two large principles: freedom and equality. This principles, when applied in every sense, turn into socialism. For that, liberalism tends to disappear and socialism begins to rule in the house of impiety.²⁰

Whatever the enemy be, the text continued, the role of the Church is to confront the attacks: “Frequently, over the centuries [...] the Church has had to compare the divine

¹⁷ “Nuevo Documento Pontificio,” *LRC*, February 20, 1904, num. 62, 65.

¹⁸ “Razón histórica de la Democracia Cristiana,” *LRC*, November 21, 1903, num. 56, 492.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 493.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 494, 495.

teachings with the current times.”²¹ That reaction, at that moment, was Christian democracy, which the author understood as a system of political organization that include the universal suffrage, but within a religious universe:

the democracy of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* is the same democracy of Jesus Christ and Saint Peter, only under other shape. [The Church] makes use today of the people to get the good for the people, but it did not arm them against the powerful, and it did not exclude the powerful of the great work of restoration.²²

The new contribution was the respect for universal suffrage because history headed toward democracy. First, the poor stopped being slaves, then they stopped being servants, and “finally they achieve civil and political freedom.” However, the author concluded, the powerful ones, who represented liberalism, have not wanted to listen to this demands of an expanded suffrage. Socialists did want to establish it but without religion.

Five years later, in October, 1908, the journal published an article untitled “Pius X and the Christian Democracy.” The author was Father Miguel Miller (1879-1945), who was about thirty years old by the time of the article and, with the arrival of Crescente Errázuriz to the Archbishopric of Santiago, would be appointed General Vicar.²³ The young priest argued that the Church was “the truly mother of democracy,” which, “in its very meaning, it is not but the noblest manifestation of social action.” However, “due to ignorance or bad faith,” [...] “the worst crimes have been committed in its name; it has become the symbol of anarchy and revolution, it has been the rallying cry for those who hate social institutions, including the Church.”²⁴

Pope Leo XIII was who, Miller continued (and recalling the Encyclical *Graves de Communi Re*), described democracy as Christian in order to be effective: “the real

²¹ Ibid, 495.

²² Ibid, 496.

²³ Virgilio Figueroa, *Diccionario histórico*, vol. IV-V, 277.

²⁴ Miguel Miller. “Pío X y la Democracia Cristiana,” *LRC*, October 17, 1908, num. 174, 534.

democracy, which consists in the concurrence of all the social forces to the common good -in particular to the good of the weakest and lower classes- is an exclusively work of Christianity.”²⁵ Therefore, although Christian Democracy was not new within the Church, the words of the Pope were necessary “given the nature of the current times, given the serious Social Question that agitates spirits and societies.” Modern society, in this context, “every day is distancing from God and making more incurable the sickness.”²⁶ In sum, democracy was accepted while it carried the adjective of “Christian” and while it was not related to a political system. Miller just repeated the words of the Pope.

Miller also said the Christian Democracy was contrary to the “demagogic democracy” of socialists. Whereas socialism “expects to obtain an absurd and unnatural equality by means of violence,” Christian democracy was the exact cure for the Social Question because in it “all the social forces want to benefit the populous classes.” This remedy, Miller continued, “should be applied on the whole society, and should be according to the nature of society, without violence, not expecting to change what is immutable.”²⁷ What was immutable? The natural inequity within society. This, though, did not mean that some social classes should be despised; quite the opposite, lower classes must be called “to the first positions, as long as they have the necessary personal merits.”²⁸ Additionally, the Church was in charge of educating the people through Catechism. By doing so, popular classes could know “the moral and religious truths, only patrimony of the disinherits.” They also could understand “which the real democracy is, which did not settle for empty words and violent declamation against order.”²⁹

²⁵ Ibid, 535.

²⁶ Ibid. 536.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. 537.

²⁹ Ibid. 539.

Following the idea of Catholic instruction and obedience to authority, Miller concluded by emphasizing the relevance of submission to religious authority:

those who wants to work independently from ecclesiastical authority are not within the true concept of democracy; no matter how much they exert themselves, the will not get their purpose, because they have to understand that the solution to this issue is only within the Church; any other remedy will be temporary.

Not submitting to the religious authority had an even worse consequence: “if not resolved under Christian principles, the Social Question will return sooner or later, and even more threatening.”³⁰ The gravity of this idea is clear in the comment that the journal published two years later when talking about the commemoration of Labor Day, on May 1, 1910. There, the author identified two kinds of workers: those without religion and those who were Catholics. He complained that the first ones protested loudly and publically, that they only demanded their rights but completely forgot they also had duties. On the other side, Catholics workers, after attending Mass in the morning, “in the afternoon, without noisily over-reactions, meet calmly in an assembly and listened to the authorized, paternal and deeply loving word of their prelate.”³¹

THE FIRST EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS, 1904

As seen in chapter two, the First Eucharistic National Congress focused on the study of social problems. Christian Democracy had a prominent place in “Social Work.” Section. It was the first topic of five discussed at the event. The others topics were:

- Christians Social Economy and propagation of its doctrine;
- Social action in four aspects: popular education, pension funds for workers, and charity; workers’ associations; patronatos; and press.
- Social institutions, the Church, the State and the family

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ “Crónica Quincenal. El día de los obreros: obreros sin religión y obreros católicos,” *LRC*, May 7, 1910, num. 211, 619.

- Divine Eucharist in social action.

Two priests were in charge of talking about Christian Democracy: the Jesuit Francisco de Ginebra and Father Rafael Edwards.³²

Teacher of Philosophy at the *San Ignacio High School*, Francisco de Ginebra was an expert in Thomism and he authored the book *Elementos de Filosofía* (1855), which was the main text used in several countries of Latin America.³³ His long presentation at the Eucharistic Congress –forty-six pages- shows clearly his philosophical approach to the topic. He began by pointing out the importance of the study of democracy:

if when an issue is discussed and causes concern everywhere, and it torments all the social classes, if some fear its exposition and even more, its solution, while others are crazy about it, it is evident that the problem is critical and that its solution can end up in huge benefits or huge harms to the entire society.

Next, he identified two kinds of democracy: the Christian and the anti-Christian. The first had its origin at the very founding of the Church by Jesus Christ. This Church “declared the end of slavery when proclaimed the dogma of personal dignity of all men, when did not proclaim equality of all social classes but the dogma of equality of all men before God.”³⁴ The meaning of equality was related, he continued, to the meaning of freedom, because the last had to do not only with freedom from slavery but also to “the freedom of being sons of God.”

These two concepts, equality and freedom, then, were part of the first characteristic of Christian Democracy and were also the two pillars in which the social order was founded because they prevented problems between social classes. “Given that

³² According to the program of the Congress, Ginebra had to present before than Edwards. However, Ginebra could not be present the first day, therefore, Edwards presented first, although the papers are published in the book of the Congress according to the original program, which I follow. Ibid. 496-497.

³³ Manuel Domínguez Miranda, “Latinoamérica,” in Emerich Coreth, Walter Neidl, and Georg Pfligersdorffer (eds.), *Filosofía Cristiana en el pensamiento católico de los siglos XIX y XX*, Tomo 2 Vuelta a la herencia escolástica. Translated by Eloy Rodríguez Navarro (Madrid: Encuentro Ediciones, 1994), 250.

³⁴ Francisco Ginebra. “La Democracia Cristiana,” en *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 508-509.

relationship between men, between poor and rich, were not defined by the law of nature's equality but by the law of Christ's charity" [...], Ginebra argued, "is not it evident that there should not be problems between the different social classes, and if that happens, the solution is in the Christian principles?"³⁵

The second factor of Christian Democracy, in Ginebra's argument, was the correct constitution of the family. Unlike paganism, where marriage was a state institution, under Christianity, marriage was a sacrament, which conferred it a higher quality. Additionally, Christian marriage dignified woman because, although she had limited parental rights, her husband was compelled to "love his wife as Christ loves his Church." In addition, traditional Christian teaching required both the mother and the children had to respect, love and obey the father "like Christ." Marriage had to be indissoluble in order to fulfill its aim of "preventing and controlling the energy of passions."³⁶ Lastly, marriage was an independent institution, since it had no relation to the State. By creating marriage this way, Ginebra concluded, "the Church laid the foundations of democracy and the truly freedom of people [pueblos]," since people [pueblo] is a "group of families."³⁷ If the laws that governed families also governed people, "you have people who will know how to govern itself," as "communes, councils or municipalities" during the Middle Age demonstrated.

A third factor of Christian democracy was the dignity of work. Ginebra stated that it was natural that the Church worried about work not only because of its long concern for individuals and family, but also because work "was the indispensable means to preserve them."³⁸ Work was a law of expiation, according to Ginebra; although it had to

³⁵ Ibid, 509.

³⁶ Ibid, 510.

³⁷ Ibid, 510-511.

³⁸ Ibid, 511.

observe rest on holidays. This, along with the “material factor” of the work, “makes that work under Christian principles never be a society of exploiter and oppressed.” Nevertheless, he recognized that that situation already existed in contemporary times due to “the utilitarian principles of a misunderstood economy.”³⁹

These three factors –equality and freedom, family, and work- when put together thanks to the law of association, Ginebra stated, turn into the creation of guilds, which are “the real bastion against disintegrative individualism.” There is some idea of corporatism in his words as Ginebra highlighted the gravity of guilds for politics within a society. A guild “should not be reduced [...] to keep the good condition of the art, the industry, and the commerce but it has to instruct the so-called ‘third state’ or ‘popular arm.’”⁴⁰

There was a fourth and last factor of Christian democracy: what Ginebra termed the “political organization of Christian nations.”⁴¹ Ginebra considered this factor the main contribution of the Church to Europe after Barbarian invasions. The hierarchical structure of the Church to confront Barbarian attempted to disorganize society. For this, the Church had three methods. Firstly, the Church contributed with its structured organization from parishes, dioceses, ecclesiastical provinces, and the Pope. Secondly, the Church provided “assemblies,” which were the “diocesan synods, and provincial, national, and general councils.” Third and last, there were the religious orders because they were “the perfect model of private associations, destined to form social organisms, which are of great relevance in the life of people.”⁴² Ginebra concluded that the political contribution of the Church to democracy is not only through its structure, but also by the

³⁹ Ibid, 512.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 512-513.

⁴¹ Ibid, 513.

⁴² Ibid, 514.

especially active nature of the Church “of keeping touch continuously with all the social classes.”⁴³

Ginebra lamented that democracy had been forgotten during so many centuries and had only been rediscovered only in the nineteenth century. If it would have been always present, “liberal and revolutionary political parties would not have abused democracy.”⁴⁴ Democracy is distinctive to Christianity, and therefore, any other kind of democracy is anti-Christian. The principle of such democracy “individual and private spirit, which is against the authority of both God and the Church; its methods are rebellion and disruption by any possible way; and its purpose is to finish with any human and divine authority.”⁴⁵ Ginebra traced history since Middle Ages in order to demonstrate that anti-Christian democracy “has developed more and has more possibilities of success in present times.” Albigenian, the seeds of Protestantism in the eleventh century, were also forefathers of Socialism and communism and of “that democracy of insatiable appetite and savage habits.”⁴⁶ Ideas about freedom of thought and popular sovereignty suggested by Hobbes and Locke in England and Kant in Germany went then to France leading to the Revolution. However, there was another guilty party: economic liberalism. In Ginebra’s opinion, by exploiting workers, liberalism was sending them to Socialism.⁴⁷

Despite the discouraging diagnosis, Ginebra did not see a future for Socialism. He thought that socialist doctrine will never reach its purpose of establishing a “universal republic” because its ideas were based in negativism: “they deny private property in individual and economic orders, marriage in the domestic sphere, [and] the political

⁴³ Ibid, 514-515.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 515.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 516.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 519.

authority and God in any field.”⁴⁸ As its beliefs were only about destruction, socialism could not build anything new. Ginebra asserted with sadness that socialism produced a vicious cycle between anarchy and despotism, a scenario in which Christian democracy could do little. In Ginebra’s ideal, the final victory of Catholicism would mean that all the nations [pueblos] of the world would “return to the unity of faith.”⁴⁹ But to Ginebra, this was impossible not only due to the schism that Catholicism suffered through its history, but also because of the outrages to Catholicism in countries ruled by liberalism.

Ginebra found a solution for a relative and harmonious coexistence between socialists and Catholics, although he did not believe that it would be good for the Church. This solution was that the Church had to compromise some of its principles by accepting modern civilization. This position would imply that, in practice, “the Church [would] stop condemning liberalism and all its errors; [...] [and] that Catholics stop dreaming of getting power and prevailing over education.”⁵⁰ That never would be possible, Ginebra concluded, because “the Church never will give in to it, and never will seal its mouth.”

For Ginebra, the only solution would be for the Church to regain its freedom and its former rights and property. Ginebra argued that if the Church recovered its property rights, for example, pontifical schools and universities, hospitals and charity institutions, and guilds would prosper again. In his eyes, this also would represent the end of the Social Question, to which “although governments, Parliaments, economists and sociologists have tried to resolve, only the Church is able to solve thanks to its ‘endless charity.’”⁵¹ Liberal, socialist, and democratic parties, however, would never accept this ideal scenery since free existence of Catholicism meant the death of any other anti-

⁴⁸ Ibid, 521.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 523.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 525.

⁵¹ Ibid, 526.

religious doctrine. It was a fight between good and evil. “May Catholics understand these truths and behave in accordance with them!” finished Ginebra.⁵²

Ginebra concluded the first part of his intervention by contradicting himself. He started distinguishing between Christian democracy and anti-Christian democracy, which meant that democracy just could exist when it was part of Catholicism. However, now he talks only about “democracy,” without adjectives. He also recognized the political significance of democracy for governments’ organization: “in any kind of government that may prevail in the twentieth century, the democratic element should have to be present.” This “democratic element,” for Ginebra, is the “popular element.”⁵³ On the one hand, liberal political parties stimulated “the appetite and ambitions [of people], proclaiming the sovereignty of people.” On the other hand, the Church, which had been set aside by governments and some of the aristocracy, “only has had the people as loyal subjects, [they have been the only ones] that have not been tempted by revolutionary flatteries.” Given the principal role of people in contemporary times, Ginebra argued, if one could argue that whatever the path followed by civilization, “the civilization of the world goes to democracy.”⁵⁴ He concluded by saying that what mattered at that time was, therefore, “to elucidate how much democracy can reconcile with teachings of the Church and how much democracy opposes to Church’s doctrines.”

In the second part of his intervention, Ginebra focused on analyzing three points: what Christian democracy could not be; what the nature of Christian democracy was; and how Christian democracy had to be organized in order to fulfill its purposes. Ginebra warned his readers that the answers could also be read in the Vatican documents of the Popes Leo XIII and Pius X, and he observed that Christian democracy would perform

⁵² Ibid, 527.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 528.

better in Latin American republics. Ginebra identified two reasons for this. First, Catholicism was very strong in Latin American people (stronger than in Europe); and second, the political organization of Latin American countries seems suitable to accommodate democracy. Ginebra did not explain what kind of “political organization” he meant, but he affirmed “the day that Catholic forces get organized, they could powerfully influence over the fate of their respective countries, and even form a sort of Catholic international federation.”⁵⁵

In terms of what Christian democracy should *not* be, Ginebra enumerated five elements. First, Christian democracy must not accept democracy in the government of the Church, whose leader is the Pope. Once again, Ginebra is not clear what he meant when he talked about democracy because if democracy can only be with the adjective of Christian, how can there be another valid democracy if any other different from the Christian one is anti-democracy? Which is the nature of the concept then? Ginebra did not give a definitive answer. Still, he problematized his analysis by detailing that respect for the Pope’s authority is contrary to prevailing laicism even in nations that declare themselves as Catholics. Liberal Catholics, who “separate science from faith, education from religion, economy from Christian moral, society from God,” are just “political parties of certain Christian democracy.”⁵⁶

The second element is that Christians should reject the idea of popular sovereignty. Popular sovereignty, Ginebra argued, is to separate man from God, as recent revolutions (starting with the French one) had demonstrated. As a consequence –and it was the third factor–, Ginebra argued that the concepts of freedom, equality and fraternity

⁵⁵ Ibid, 529.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 530. El destacado es mío.

were unacceptable for Christian democracy, since all of them were based on the independence of man from God.

Fourth, the Jesuit stated that Liberalism was inadmissible for Christian democracy. His argument for this is that “liberal freedoms,” although with a very appealing presentation, are against the authority of the Church. The fifth and final factor, is that Christian Democracy should mean the overthrow of “legally established powers,” under the argument that the nation needs a freer government and more political rights, or the right to constitute a government by themselves.”⁵⁷ This only could happen when societies were not organized, but given that the Pope was the highest authority of Christianity, this situation was unfeasible.

Ginebra continued with what Christian democracy really was. As the adjective said, the basic principle of Christian Democracy is that it had to exist within societies where “the real religion has the place that deserve by natural and divine law [...]; societies that recognizes social sovereignty of Jesus Christ.”⁵⁸ The second characteristic is that Christian Democracy should focus in improving condition of working classes. These two characteristics are the pillars in which Christian Democracy was founded. If Christian Democracy only considered people but not religion, it would become in an “absolute democracy” or, in other words, “the government of people for the people,” which is “a moral and physically impossible kind of government.”⁵⁹

Finally, Ginebra delivered a comprehensive definition of Christian democracy:

it does consist in having more or less political rights but in the influence that popular classes should exercise over society and in the influence of society over them in order that they do not be a disturbing element, as they are in modern

⁵⁷ Ibid, 532.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 534.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 535.

societies, legally separated, although not legitimately, from religion, the Church and Jesus Christ.⁶⁰

Justice is vital in this definition, in particular when referring to the weakest of society: “in the society that respects justice, democracy will be healthy and complete, will develop virile and strong, and will grow without any danger for social order.”⁶¹ Justice had to be both commutative and distributive. This is, that justice should “punish crimes equally without any exception of classes or persons,” but also should “distribute responsibility according to profits, and should assign posts according the talent.”⁶²

In this point, Ginebra highlighted the performance of this ideal scenario of justice’ supremacy. He described the possibility of social mobility:

imitation will raise, not antagonism; individuals from popular classes, convinced that they have the same right than any other citizen to apply for public posts in the government, [...], and persuaded as well that they will get those posts if they have the enough merit; they will work hard to get educated and instructed and in order to have the integrity to deserve what they wish.⁶³

Strongly believing in the transforming power of education, he followed:

Many of the individuals from popular classes will turn into others men, and first, they will become part of what is called ‘aristocracy of talent,’ and then the social transformation will happen and with that, the creation of the honest, virile, and hardworking middle class, which is the strongest support of societies, and no few of them will rise to the first positions of politics.⁶⁴

To explain the final element, Ginebra referred back to the teachings of Pope Leo XIII. Recognizing that this might be too general, Ginebra detailed that “in order to reconstruct Christian social order we have to work in a very different way from liberalism that destroyed the order the Church created over the centuries.”⁶⁵ At this point,

⁶⁰ Ibid, 537.

⁶¹ Ibid, 540.

⁶² Ibid, 541.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 543.

democracy would turn into a useful tool to face secularization: “the purpose of liberalism is the separation of Church and State, that is, the secularization of all the social and political institutions.”⁶⁶ Ginebra described the plan of liberalism to destroy the Christian social order: first, it introduced the concept of popular sovereignty –deleting Jesus Christ’s authority; then, liberalism attacked freedom of Catholic teaching, and reduced the Church’s authority over the family (by introducing civil marriage); and finally, by introducing the freedom of worship.⁶⁷ Christian democracy would be, simply, the repudiation of liberalism and the restitution of Christian social order.

In practical terms, Ginebra enumerated eight duties that Catholics must perform in order to regain what Liberalism had taken. First, Catholics needed to work hard to “make known to societies what the Church is, [and make them feel] that outside the Church there is no salvation.” Second, he called for the teaching Catechism to children and workers. Third, he demanded that the Church win back freedom of teaching “secondary and university education, task that belongs to the Church by divine right.” Fourth, he sought to take back freedom of association through the creation of patronatos, thrifts, workers’ circles, cooperatives, which were, all of them, consequently, related to each other, and made “public manifestations of faith with processions and pilgrimage” but above all through Catholic Congresses, press and the Parliament; and fifth, he called for the recomposition of Christian family by fighting civil marriage and by boosting the “workshop and property” in order they perpetuated; sixth, Ginebra call upon Catholics to actively participate in municipal elections, local government and (seventh), in political life in general. Lastly, he called upon believers to do justice in every field of life in order to “condemn injustice wherever it could exist.”⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 543-544.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 545-550.

In the general conclusion to his presentation, Ginebra emphasized that, for him, “democracy should consist in the recognition of rights of individual, families and institutions of popular classes so that they could influence over the whole society and the government.”⁶⁹ He concluded by noticing that he wrote his presentation before the publication in 1901 of the Encyclical *Graves de Communi Re*. However, Ginebra noted, “I cannot but be glad to see that in my poor work there was nothing opposite to the teachings of the great Pope.”⁷⁰

Father Rafael Edwards was in charge of the next presentation, called “Las condiciones generales de la Democracia Cristiana.” As we have seen, Edwards was already familiarized with the topic since he had translated the text “The Christian concept of democracy” written by the Italian sociologist Giuseppe Toniolo, in 1898. Edwards focused his presentation at the Congress on the main principles of the Motu Proprio of 1903, included in the conclusions of the section as well. This papal document specified the actions needed in order to perform social action correctly.⁷¹ Edwards argued that while it was true that Christian Democracy was, as the Vatican said, “the social action of Catholics in favor of workers,” it was also the result of that social action. Therefore, Christian Democracy was

a social order in which the Church enjoys plenty its freedom, in which social classes are properly organized, the State respects and makes respect the rights of both God and men, all the social forces contribute to the common good and, in particular, to the well-being of the most needed.⁷²

In other words, Christian Democracy had a specific goal –to reestablish the Christian social order attacked by secularizing Liberalism-, but over the long run, when

⁶⁹ Ibid, 551.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ “Ordenanza Fundamental de la Acción Popular Cristiana dada por Su Santidad Pío X,” en *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 555-559.

⁷² Rafael Edwards. “Las condiciones generales de la Democracia Cristiana,” en *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 552.

Christian Democracy accomplished its purpose, social life would continue being organized under its principles. Thus, its immediate intent was centered on the wellbeing of workers, as Christian Democracy wanted to “free people from physical misery, intellectual error, and moral depravity, to make them happy and Christian.” Still, its essential mission was to “restore to Christ everything that the materialistic naturalism and liberalism have stolen.”⁷³ These goals required Catholics’ unity across all classes and social sectors so that that they did not forget the final purpose.

Before finishing, Edwards wanted to use the occasion to clearly define the differences between Christian Democracy and political activity. He pointed out that this difference was well established in the thirteenth article of the *Motu Proprio*, which came from the encyclical *Graves de Communi Re*: Christian Democracy “must be employed without any political significance, so as to mean nothing else than this beneficent Christian action in behalf of the people [based on] the laws of nature and of the Gospel.” Edwards asked for the meaning of term “politics” in the sentence:

Does it mean that we Christian Democrats should not perform our civic duties to reach the Reign of Christ? One thousand times no. The only meaning of such teaching is that Christian Democracy is not connected to the democratic way of government nor to the political parties that yearn for it in the monarchies. That is what Toniolo had called the *political* meaning of the Christian Democracy.⁷⁴

In a brief conclusion, Edwards praised the existence of “the formation of a Christian social conscience that we could call *comprehensive* Christianity”⁷⁵ within Catholics who envision the success of Christian Democracy. He also congratulated the a virtuous and talented Catholic youth that despite, belonging to the high class, “demands social concessions that far from favor it, they seem to damage it.”⁷⁶

⁷³ Ibid, 553.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 554. Italics in the original.

⁷⁵ Italics in the original (integral).

⁷⁶ Ibid.

The members of the section made some comments and observations to Edwards' presentation, although the minutes did not detail them. They decided to make the final voting the next day given the absence of Father Ginebra the first day of the meeting (November 20). Finally, both Ginebra's and Edwards' ideas were approved with no changes. Observations to Edwards' presentation the day before seemed not to be considered for voting. In fact, Luis Barros Méndez, lawyer and member of the Conservative Party, indicated that "as Edwards' words do not essentially differ from the rules given by the Pope, they were implicitly accepted."⁷⁷ The definitive and approved conclusions about Christian Democracy were the following:

1. Christian Democracy, which is the social action of Catholics in favor of the workers, was at that time more necessary than ever.
2. Christian Democracy was under the authority of Bishops in order to dismiss any possibility of division between Catholics.
3. Christian Democracy must ensure the restoration of Christ and of Christian ideas in any activity of life: in individuals, families, institutions, and civil society; in customs, arts, sciences and laws as well.
4. Catholics had to pursue the fulfillment of duties of employers, the establishment and diffusion of social works, and ensure the passage of laws to benefit of workers.
5. Christian Democracy had to follow "the guidelines of the Motu Proprio on Christian Popular Action issued by the Pope Pius X."⁷⁸

The presentations in this section were not the only references to Christian Democracy in the Eucharistic Congress. Edwards talked about it again in his intervention

⁷⁷ "Acta de la segunda sesión de la sección de Obras Sociales, en 22 de noviembre," *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 496-497.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 598.

in the “sacerdotal works” section, in which he was also the secretary. His presentation was entitled “Participation of clergy in social action.” In it, Edwards defined social action as “the combination of the activity of Catholics in favor of society in order to obtain their material comfort and, specially, their moral wellbeing.”⁷⁹ He pointed out that the purpose of Catholic Action is “the Social Reign of Our Lord Jesus Christ,” defined as

that social organization in which the Church -with its full freedom-, the social classes are hierarchically organized, and also the political authority, works in favor of common good and, he emphasized once again, in particular, for the well-being of the most needed.⁸⁰

Both the organization and action of Catholics are what is called, Edwards concluded, Christian Democracy.⁸¹ The center of his presentation was the role of the priest within social action. While it was true that the main mission of the priest was to save souls, one should not forget, Edwards argued, that men are also bodies. With this in mind, the priest encouraged the faithful to pay particular attention to foster “the creation of social institutions,” along with “the fulfillment of the social duties of every person.”⁸² Priests would also need to have a leading role within social action because “youth’s activity, which is the one that generally forms the core of these social action, is passionate but inconstant.” Finally, Edwards challenged all Catholics to receive communion because “if ‘patrones’ and workers, fathers and sons, would receive communion with the appropriate frequency, there would not be any Social Question.”⁸³

RAFAEL EDWARDS IN THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

If Christian Democracy was limited to religion, which was the role of the Conservative Party, known for representing Catholics interests since the middle of the

⁷⁹ Rafael Edwards. “La participación del clero en la acción social,” en *Primer Congreso Eucarístico*, 460.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 461.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid, 463.

⁸³ Ibid, 464.

nineteenth century? In the same year of the Eucharistic Congress, 1904, *La Revista Católica* recognized the party as the only defender, in the political space, of religion:

Religion [...] the official worship of our Republic, the Catholic faith of the majority of the country, the faith of our families, the faith of our elders, what constitutes for us the sacred deposit of our immortal hopes and the fundamental basis of the nation's elevation and happiness, does not have, and cannot have, in the civil field, any other convinced, selfless, and constant protector than the Conservative party.⁸⁴

The magazine also congratulated the principles that lead the political party: "Christian social order' triumph, the fight for freedom within order, and the moral, intellectual social, and economic progress of people."⁸⁵ In fact, as others historians have well documented, Conservative party's the of 1895, declared that the intention of its members was to "keep the Christian Social Order,"⁸⁶ which meant that both rich and poor must follow the Gospel as brothers but within the limits of their own social class. It called upon wealthy people to be generous, and the poor to resign themselves to their destiny. Party documents declared "Freedom for everybody, love between the ones from above and the ones from below; neither oppressors nor oppressed; veneration of everything that is superior and sacred; honesty and work; virtue and encouragement; sincere fraternity."⁸⁷ Following the ideas of Popes Pius VII and Leo XIII, living according to Christian

⁸⁴ "Por la Religión y la Patria," *LRC*, May 6, 1905, num. 91, 484.

⁸⁵ "Crónica Nacional. La Asamblea Conservadora," *LRC*, July 20, 1907, num. 144, 946.

⁸⁶ J. S. Valenzuela and Erika Maza, "The politics of religion in a catholic country: Republican democracy, Cristianismo Social and the Conservative Party in Chile, 1850-1925," in Austen Ivereigh (ed.), *The Politics of Religion in an Age of Revival* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2000), 215 and Ignacio Arteaga Undurraga (comp.), *Partido Conservador: XIV Convención Nacional 1947, celebrada en Santiago el 27, 28 y 29 de junio: notas para la historia política del Partido Conservador* (Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Chile, 1947), 223. In the next convention, 1901, the "Christian Social Order" would be the official "Fundamental Statement" of the party's regulations.

⁸⁷ Discurso del presidente del partido, Carlos Walker Martínez en la convención de 1901, in Arteaga Undurraga, *Partido Conservador*, 226.

principles meant to be good democrats, as Carlos Walker Martínez, president of the party, recalled in his speech at the opening of the convention in 1895.⁸⁸

Concern for the “Social Christian Order” was central in the next five conventions (1901, 1909, 1913, 1918 and 1921), and Rafael Edwards had a relevant role in some of them. In the convention of 1901, for example, he defended the importance of the observance to the Social Encyclicals and requested to “democratize conservative action in a Christian way, setting oneself on the side of workers in order to look after their needs.”⁸⁹ The focus on labor aimed was to fend off workers’ potential attraction to socialism. Edwards called for “an action that could expand the activity of the party in favor of the people so that no other party could take over the worker.”⁹⁰

In the next convention, 1909, Edwards headed the debate about the concept of the “Christian Social Order.” He argued that they had to defend the works and actions already made in favor of the poor “in order that the party never abandons social issues and keeps its progress toward Christian democratization.”⁹¹ Ten years earlier, he already had outlined these ideas in the introduction to the translation of Toniolo’s text:

Would it be improper to point out this new direction to the Chilean Catholic party? Our adversaries, more sagacious and foresighted, have understood for a while that political parties’ strength [...] lies in, for the present, the people, and for the future, in the youth. And they have acted consequently by trying to take over education at all costs, and by introducing themselves like arbitrator and advocates of democracy.⁹²

In Edwards’ mind, Christian democracy should be the fundamental rule of the Conservative Party and its members accepted his ideas in the several conventions. By the

⁸⁸ *La Convención Conservadora de 1895. Convocatoria, discursos, programa, estatutos, convencionales* (Santiago: Imprenta y Encuadernación Roma, 1895), 17 and Arteaga Undurraga, *Partido Conservador*, 219.

⁸⁹ Arteaga Undurraga, *Partido Conservador*, 228.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁹² Toniolo, *La verdadera democracia*, 14.

end of the 1910s, Christian democracy was the Conservative Party's demonstration of the religious concern for social problems. In his speech at the convention of 1918, the vice-president of the party, Juan Enrique Concha, stated:

If by Christian democracy we understood the equality between everybody, rich, medium, and poor, respecting the rights of each of them, and according to doctrines' Church and social sciences' teachings, I think I represent the opinion of Chilean conservatism when I say and proclaim that the Chilean Conservative party is, essentially, Christian democratic. We are a party of social order, founded on justice and charity.⁹³

As we have seen previously in chapter three, Edwards concentrated in the 1920s in boosting Catholic Social Action, within the Church, as something not related to politics; and he wanted to stop their public participation on the conventions of the party. However, the Conservative Party remained as one of the many ways in which Catholics took action in favor of the good of the poor, because Christian Democracy was not considered yet a political term as it would be in the next decades, when the Youth of party left it and created, first, the *Falange*, in 1938, and then, the Christian Democratic Party in 1957.

CORPORATISM ENTERS THE SCENE

By the time in which the last events happened -by the middle of the twentieth century-, a new element characterized the new Christian democratic political group: corporatism. Was it present before within the Chilean Catholic church? While it is true that some idea of corporatism was always present in the Church since the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, which supported the creation of unions labor inspired in the medieval guilds, the political meaning of corporatism appeared only in the 1920s.

Father Guillermo Viviani published three articles in the journal, later published also as pamphlets, about the Social Question in 1919: "Democracy," "Catholic Social

⁹³ Arteaga Undurraga, 254.

Schools,” and “Trade Unionism.” Viviani, who was a young priest by then (twenty-six years old), had been ordained only four years before in Rome. As we saw in chapter four, he worked hard on several workers’ associations, in particular, creating labor unions.

In his first article, about democracy, Viviani, as had Miller ten years earlier, aimed to clarify the meaning of the word “democracy” as the term preoccupied to those who considered it “a progress of impiety, an inclination to hate rich and to inflame popular passions.”⁹⁴ However, in contrast to others authors studied in this chapter, Viviani argued that the origin of democracy was in the political field, given the etymology of the word, although he continued to understand its meaning to include “hav[ing] spread to the economic order, and [...] to the moral and religious one.”⁹⁵ Even so, his definition of democracy was virtually the same than Edward’s: “Democracy believes that every citizen of the country, rich and poor, should have the option to wealth.”⁹⁶

When speaking of political democracy, Viviani proposed universal suffrage, including women. However, he also recommended that

universal suffrage [be] based on the family and not on the individual, furthermore, the exercise of this right corresponds to families that constitutes an organized profession[...]. And the government of a country would be in hands of genuine representatives of the different professional interests of the organized people.”⁹⁷

In order to reach this goal, unions were crucial. “[G]ive the guilds and the support of Catholicism,” He urged, “and we will make a fairer society, more democratic, more imbued with the spirit of Jesus Christ than current society.”⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Guillermo Viviani, *La democracia: su aspecto político, su aspecto económico, su aspecto moral y religioso* (Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Chile, 1919), 3.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 4.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 9.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 6.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 13.

Although Viviani was one of the forefathers of corporatism, as it emerged through the development of the Youth of the Conservative Party in the decade of 1930, by 1919, he preferred the term “Christian Democracy.” In his second article, he identified three Catholic political groups: Liberal Catholics, Reformist Catholics, and Christian Democrats. The last one was the most efficient group, he believed, to “fight socialism in popular classes.”⁹⁹ Christian democracy, Viviani proposed, had to pursue the replacement of the “salary system” for the “system of the mutual cooperation within the organized profession,”¹⁰⁰ which was where workers would receive part of the profits of the factory. The role of the State, in this context, was to “turn the regime of numerical suffrage into the regime of the corporative representation.”¹⁰¹

Corporatism as an ideal political organization made its big entrance in Chilean politics when the Youth of the Conservative Party was delighted by the corporatist ideas of the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* of 1931: “The Pope’s approval for a corporative organization of work and society, his call for justice and for the adjustment of the relationship between workers and business owners, caused a special interest on the youth.”¹⁰² Was corporatism in their minds previously as a social and economic idea instead of a political one? The words of a young Eduardo Frei in 1934 (he was twenty-three years old), well summarizes this situation:

A horizon is visible where aspirations start materializing: corporatism. But the word corporatism can mean many concepts. There is a political corporatism and an economic corporatism. There is a fascist corporatism and also a corporatism supported by social Catholics; there is a socialist corporatism which is starting

⁹⁹ Guillermo Viviani, “Las Escuelas Sociales Católicas,” *LRC*, Year 19, Issue 435, September 20 1919, 430.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 429.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 431.

¹⁰² Gazmuri, *Eduardo Frei*, 130.

now, and a brand-new form of liberal corporatism has appeared in Chile. Thus, who says that he is corporatist, most of times says nothing.¹⁰³

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the meaning of Christian Democracy within the Chilean Catholic Church in a short but crucial period contributes to a better understanding of its subsequent development in the twentieth century. Christian democracy, as a concept, had to do first with a religious response to Social Question; it even served as the first definition of the Catholic social action, which, as I demonstrated in the third chapter, promoted Catholic social works independently of political parties. Its activities were performed within the limits of the Church, and Christian democrats responded to the bishops of their respective dioceses.

While the nature of Christian democracy –expressed as a concern for the weakest of a society- kept intact through the twentieth century, it is not correct to give to Christian democracy a political meaning at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although the Church had warned about the perils of socialism since the end of the previous century, the fight against this ideology, by the means of Christian democracy, was a religious one, not a political one. The Church responded through its theology to the challenge of social problems, in accordance with the teachings of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*.

In its origins, Christian democracy in Chile was the “ultimate expression of *modern* Catholic thought” to social problems caused by modernity.¹⁰⁴ The new term represented the union of the two words that led the new Catholic social action: charity (a Christian virtue), and justice (Democracy’s contribution). As the Pastoral of the Chilean Bishops about the creation of the Catholic Union in 1916 stated: “In the name of the real Christian Democracy, inspired by the laws of justice and by the sentiments of charity,

¹⁰³ Ibid., 198-199.

¹⁰⁴ “Razón histórica de la Democracia Cristiana,” *LRC*, November 21, 1903, num. 56, 492.

those who enjoy the comfort and goods of the world, should ‘go to the people,’ know their ailments, and apply the opportune remedies.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ “Pastoral Colectiva del Episcopado de la República sobre la Unión Católica de Chile,” *Boletín Eclesiástico*, T19, 1914-1916, p. 591.

Conclusion

In his sermon welcoming Father Aníbal Aguayo to the ecclesiastical career, Father Clovis Montero proclaimed:

With the doctrine of Jesus Christ, the Church delivers both the eternal well-being and the temporal well-being; the first is completely fulfilled, but the second one is incomplete because while in the world, there is no complete happiness; The Church teaches the entire true, the rights and duties of everybody, either rich or poor; and if it also teaches that obligations have to be obeyed carefully, it does keep silence that right of everybody have to be defended with energy.¹

By defining the Social Question as a religious issue, and by making the Catholic Church the final and real solution to it, the Social Question became not a negative issue but an opportunity for Catholicism to remain in the public space as a relevant actor after the secularization of the Chilean state had negatively affected the institutional rights of the Catholic Church. As historian Miranda Lida has proven for the Argentinean case, “the fact that religion had stopped performing the role that it had in the past does not mean it would not have found [...] its own place.”² Finding its own place meant that the Church secularized in order to face secularization; it has to start to follow the modern rules to survive. The war against the decline of the religious spirit that caused the Social Question was this new “own place.” The defense of Christianity caused by the Social Question, was one more battle against secularization that Catholic Church had faced since the Enlightenment. The thoughts and opinions of Chile’s ecclesiastical hierarchy about the social and political changes caused by modernization reflected this stance.

¹ Clovis Montero, *El Sacerdote y los Pobres. Sermón pronunciado en la Iglesia Parroquial de la Asunción, con ocasión de la Primera Misa del Pbro. D. Aníbal Aguayo Blaitt, el 2 de octubre de 1921* (Santiago: Imprenta “El Globo”, 1921), 7.

² Miranda Lida, “Secularización: doctrina, teoría y mito. Un debate desde la historia sobre un viejo tópico de la sociología” *Cuadernos de Historia*, 9, Córdoba, 2007, 50.

The response of the Church, however, does not mean it was a modern one. Catholicism developed modern strategies to stay in the public space, but Catholic doctrine remained firm and some of its main principles were far from being modern. The Catholic definition of society was of a hierarchical social order, which included resignation to poverty for the poor, and paternalism for the rich.

The two sources of strength of hierarchical social order in colonial Spanish America were the Catholic Church and the Spanish Empire.³ After the Spanish monarchy collapsed and the Latin American countries obtained their independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Catholicism remained the basis of social organization. Even after secularization, Catholicism kept its influence over society and the patriarchal order was accepted as part of the natural order. Although this characteristic was common to all Latin American countries, this situation was particularly pronounced in Chile, where the evolution of some social institutions was slower. For example, divorce was legalized only in 2004 and the legal category of “illegitimate children” was removed from Civil Code in 1998.

A century ago, when the social problems of the working class demanded that the Catholic Church take a stand about the Social Question, the concern for the weakest members in society, i.e., workers and their families, involved the defense of the hierarchical social organization as well. It was the perdurance of one the most rooted notions of social organization. Furthermore, today, the Catholic Church in Chile is still not considered a modern institution. Despite its active role defending human rights during Pinochet’s dictatorship (1973-1988), the Chilean ecclesiastical hierarchy today focuses

³ Kathleen Deagan, “Dynamics of imperial adjustment in Spanish America: ideology and social integration,” in Susan E. Alcock (ed.), *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 181.

largely on moral issues (abortion and homosexuality, for example), which further contributes to its image as a conservative institution.

By focusing on a determined and short period of time, this dissertation has opened new questions for future research. Before the Industrial Revolution, there was no prominent concern on social matters in general in western countries: issues were economic or political. The initial confusion of the new status of the relationship between persons in a modern context, gave way to the emergence of the Social Question, and therefore, to “the social” itself.⁴

Some of the new questions for the Social Question in Chile are about the countryside. Despite the crucial role of the countryside during the second half of the twentieth century not only in economic or social terms, but above all, in politics, in general, scholars have not called attention to the Chilean countryside in the context of the Social Question. Certainly, the fact that social problems caused by industrialization were mostly urban contributes to this scant interest. But the Catholic Church’s attention was sharply focused on contemporary, “modern,” urban men.

Other topic is the State. How did the State deal with “the social”? Of course, giving the political implications, there is a considerable amount of research on the State. Any general history of Chile considers the formation of a welfare state in the 1920s. However, new interpretations could be added with new inquiries from the present. The current debate on the neoliberal legacy of Pinochet’s dictatorship in education, for example, could be a good to opportunity to look at the past again.

Coming back to the Church, but also related to the role of the State, it is the study of the Catholic Social Action. There is no deep study on its origins, as it has been mainly considered as an organization of the 1920s and, above all, the 1930s after the Encyclical

⁴ Juan Carlos Yáñez Andrade, “Historiografía y cuestión social. ¿La historiografía de los excluidos o de los excluyentes?,” *Boletín de Historia y Geografía* 15 (2000-2001): 46-47.

Quadragesimo Anno. Yet, as this dissertation has shown, both priests and laymen talked about Catholic Social Action at the very beginning of the century. More importantly, this leads to questions on how the State was transforming on this time. What should private citizens have done about social issues? What should do the State?

Such questions lead also to the persons that carried out this changes. Who did promote Catholic Social Action? Under what principles? How much did their thought on social organization, for example, change over time? This dissertation has shown how a group of priests worked and thought on the Social Question. Knowing more about their lives could offer more answers. Particularly important, I think, are the cases of José María Caro and Rafael Edwards. Caro is very well known not only in historiography but in Chilean society in general for being the first Cardinal of the Chilean Catholic Church. There are avenues, *poblaciones*, provinces with his name. However, for most of people, Caro is an actor of the middle of the twentieth century. But his public work started in 1892, without interruptions. Moreover, as I already pointed out, Caro is a very attractive historical figure for his humble social origins. A biography of the Cardinal would shed light not only on his life, but also in the social environment that made his ecclesiastical career possible.

The case of Edwards is interesting because although he is widely mentioned, there is no more information available about his life. Edwards is known, in the case of the Social Question, for being the director of the Catholic Social Action. However, as this dissertation has shown, there is so much to know about his thought and how it evolved over time. For example, how he changed from a very political position within the Conservative party, to focus on the separation of Catholicism from politics.

Finally, and related to biographical studies, this dissertation opens the door to a larger study of the Chilean Catholic Church as an institution that had to deal not only

with external influences, but also with internal differences among the clergy. Despite the common concern for the condition of the poor and for keeping a hierarchical social order, there were clear differences on how to carry out its mission. The figure of Crescente Errázuriz at this respect is crucial. During his administration, there was a serious debate within the ecclesiastical hierarchy on the participation of Catholics in politics. He also seemed less concerned about the Social Question than his predecessors in the Archbishopric, and he did not have good relations with some of the clergy, such as Rafael Edwards and Martín Rucker. Was it just his personality or perhaps was it a sign of different visions within the Church? Such rifts indicate that the Church, while with the eyes on heaven, was driven by very human persons.

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